The EARLY RELATION AND SEPARATION OF BAPTISTS and DISCIPLES

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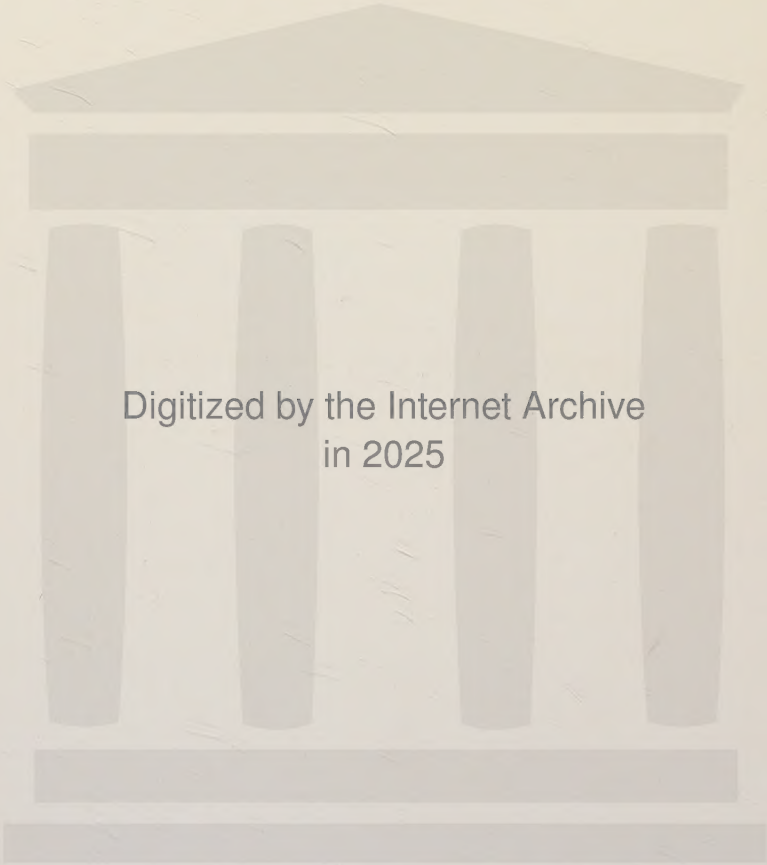
THE EARLY RELATION AND SEPARATION OF BAPTISTS AND DISCIPLES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THE EARLY RELATION AND SEPARATION

OF

BAPTISTS AND DISCIPLES

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Origin of the Disciples	9
II.	The Union with the Baptists	19
III.	The Sermon on the Law	27
IV.	The Debates with John Walker and W. L. Maccalla	32
V.	The Christian Baptist	39
VI.	The Status of Alexander Campbell's Fellowship with the Baptists	51
VII.	The Spread of the "Ancient Order of Things" Among the Baptists	60
VIII.	The Spread of the "Ancient Order of Things" Among the Baptists: Causes and Conditions	76
IX.	The Separation of the "Reformers" from the Baptists	88
X.	The Separation of the "Reformers" from the Baptists; Causes	105

46627

INTRODUCTION.

A study of the early relation and separation of Baptists and Disciples, the two largest immersionist Protestant bodies in America, should be of interest to both bodies in view of the wide-spread movement in the modern religious world toward the union of related denominations. Historically and doctrinally the two communions are very closely related. A study of their peculiarities and differences a hundred years ago presents a picture which in many respects stands in contrast with that of to-day, and affords data for an estimate of the changes that have taken place in each during their seventy-five or a hundred years of independent growth. There are fewer differences between them to-day than seventy-five years ago. There are fewer barriers to union between them than between them and any other Protestant body. Many in both bodies see no sufficient reason in existing doctrinal or practical differences for continued separation, while many reasons of an economic and religious kind appeal for immediate union. To the leaders of the two bodies in the early nineteenth century there seemed sufficient reasons for separation. It is scarcely possible to find representative leaders in either body to-day who would attempt to defend their early position on every point of dispute.

This study is an attempt to relate the story of the early relation and separation of Baptists and Disciples in a scientific and impartial historic spirit, and thus to promote a better understanding between them to-day. This episode in the history of American Christianity has been dealt with frequently, but usually from the point of view of one or the other body, and with an apologetic or polemic purpose. While the author of this work holds membership in one of the bodies, he possesses that breadth of sympathy and scientific spirit which qualifies him to deal with his subject impartially. He has stated the facts in the case without fear or favor, and has not hesitated to draw conclusions favorable or unfavorable to either side where the facts have warranted them. In most instances the reader is left to draw his own conclusions from the plain statement of the facts.

The work may be said to be a study of the thought and influence of Alexander Campbell, so supreme and dominant was his personality

in the creation of the party of " Reformers " in the Baptist churches of this period. From another point of view, as a part of a larger history, it may be called the formative period in the history of the Disciples of Christ. This movement which attached itself to Baptist churches was dominated by one personality who spoke for the whole body with acknowledged leadership. It covered barely twenty years of activity among Baptist churches, and was confined to four or five states. A certain definite body of literature grew out of it on the side of the " Reformers " which voiced all their convictions and purposes and reported the progress of their conquest in all the churches of the time. The criticisms and oppositions of the Regular Baptists were candidly reported and dealt with in monthly publications put out by Mr. Campbell. All these conditions narrowed and simplified the task of the author, and made the sifting of material and the following of the main movement comparatively easy. It will be seen by the references in the foot-notes that the story has been written out of the original sources — the current periodic literature of the time. As far as possible the leaders on both sides have been allowed to speak for themselves in freely quoted extracts from their writings.

Eri B. Hulbert.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.[1]

Every religious movement owes its origin to some leading person or persons; Protestantism to Luther and Zwingli, Methodism to Wesley. So the Disciples of Christ owe their origin to the joint thought and labors of two men, Thomas and Alexander Campbell, father and son. Various phases and tendencies of a religious movement may be traceable to conditions back of its accredited founder, as many phases of Protestantism to the reformers before the reformation, and many tendencies in Methodism to the Moravians and European Pietists. So there are discernible back of the Campbells, tendencies in religious thought which became dominant forces in their movement. No religious movement arises out of the earth or comes down from heaven regardless of past or present conditions. Single lives combine in themselves scattered tendencies, either hidden or apparent, and concentrate them into a historic movement. It takes then a distinct and traceable course and receives a distinguishing name.

Thomas Campbell was born in County Down, Ireland, February 1, 1763. His father had been in early life a Roman Catholic, but was won over later to the established church of England. In the atmosphere of that religious system Thomas was brought up. He never quite found satisfaction, however, "in serving God according to act of parliament," and soon sought the fellowship of a neighboring Seceder Presbyterian Church. He is said to have passed through a "deep religious experience," in which he found that inward peace and assurance of forgiveness, which he accepted as evidence of an "effectual calling." The moment of his conversion was the moment of his dedication to the ministry. He had received an excellent English education in a military regimental school and became a school teacher.

After his call to the ministry he was urged by some of his Seceder friends to enter the University of Glasgow. After completing his literary course at the University, he passed into the Anti-Burgher Seceder Theological Seminary for his special ministerial training.

[1] "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell." Robert Richardson.

He became pastor of a Seceder church at Ahorey, County Armagh, Ireland. It was while living at Rich Hill in the quiet discharge of his duties as a teacher in an academy, as well as pastor at Ahorey, that his son Alexander grew to young manhood, and shared with his father the management of the academy. Here, during the years between 1798 and 1807, both father and son came into contact with an "Independent" church ministered to from time to time by such men as Rowland Hill, the Haldanes, Alex. Carson and John Walker. The Campbells, in their free mingling with other religious bodies, must have been of more liberal spirit than their brethren in the Seceder Church, who were permitted only an "occasional hearing" or attendance upon the services of other denominations. This was expressly discouraged, and only half-way countenanced when there was no meeting at a Seceder church at the same hour. The biographer of the Campbells, Robert Richardson, concedes to these Independents at Rich Hill a very important influence upon them. They seem to have been characterized by the same breadth of spirit and freedom of communion with other Christians that belonged to this body in contrast to all other religious bodies of that time and country. Especially was this difference striking as between the Seceder Church and the Independents. The Seceders had divided and sub-divided over excessive refinements of differences until they had grown narrow, illiberal and clannish. There were no less than four branches of the Seceder Church. "Schooled amidst such schisms in his own denomination, and harassed by the triviality of the differences by which they were maintained, Thomas Campbell conceived the greatest antipathy to party spirit and all its workings and manifestations," while "his son Alexander fully sympathized with him in these feelings." Thomas Campbell was especially zealous in the promoting of a proposed union between the Burgher and Anti-Burgher synods of Ireland in 1804-5. While his own immediate effort for the union failed, the actual union took place in 1820, after the Campbells had taken up their home in the wilderness of the New World.

The excessive strain of his labors as preacher and teacher began to tell upon his health. He was induced by his family and friends to relinquish his work, and seek rest and recuperation in a journey to America. Leaving his family behind and intrusting the charge and oversight of his academy to his son Alexander, who had grown to be a youth of nineteen years, he set out for America. He selected as his destination the western part of Pennsylvania, whither had gone

some of his neighborhood acquaintances and some members of his congregation. He was assigned by an Anti-Burgher synod, in session in Philadelphia when he arrived from Ireland, to the Presbytery of Chartiers, Washington County, Pennsylvania. There he found friends who had preceded him from Ireland, and was subsequently joined by other friends who emigrated to the New World. He took up a kind of itinerary among the circle of small Seceder churches. He had brought with him his old world catholicity of spirit. The Seceder Church in western Pennsylvania had preserved unchanged the spirit and tradition of their mother church in Ireland and Scotland. On one of his excursions in an especially destitute part of the country, his sympathy went out to the homeless members of the various denominations who had settled there. He invited them to come in and share the communion of his Presbyterian flock. This breach of Seceder exclusiveness shocked and embittered his Seceder brethren, who forthwith lodged complaint against him before the next synod. He was tried for his transgression of the church standards and usages. He was mildly censured and admonished to preserve regularity of order in his ministrations thereafter. The situation, however, became so painful, the hostility and jealousy of his brethren so intolerable, that he was obliged to withdraw from the synod.

This severance of his relation with the Seceder body and this renunciation of the authority of the synod did not terminate his work as a preacher. During his brief sojourn in the country he had won the esteem of many persons and endeared himself to many of his Seceder members. Before finally withdrawing from the synod he had frequently urged the excellence and desirability of Christian union; but now the dominant note of his preaching was a plea for "Christian liberality and Christian union upon the basis of the Bible." He held services at the homes of his friends, the hearers usually crowding the largest places. This continued until it was seen that many had practically severed their relations with the Seceder Church, and many others of the community had become regular attendants at his services. A few of the principal persons met and proposed that a meeting be held with the object of effecting some more permanent organization for their gatherings. What should they do? What form should their organization take? On what basis should they build? were the questions which had come up for consideration at a meeting appointed to be held at the home of Abraham Altars. Thomas Campbell spoke. He dwelt upon the inexpediency and

unscripturalness of division among Christians, and upon the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a standard of faith and rule of life. This thought had already become familiar to his mind and the minds of his hearers, for he had dwelt upon it in a letter of defense to the synod which was about to meet to try him, in which he affirmed that it was his purpose to teach nothing "but what is already expressly taught and enjoined by divine authority." "And I hope," he continues, "it is no presumption to believe that saying and doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes in the sacred page is infallibly right, as well as all-sufficient for the edification of the church, whose duty and perfection it is to be in all things conformed to the original standard." But this dominant thought and burning appeal took the form of a motto or rule in the address he delivered at the meeting referred to above, namely, "Where the Scriptures speak we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent we are silent."

Opportunity was given to others to speak at the close of this address. Among others, Andrew Monroe arose and said: "Mr. Campbell, if we adopt that as a basis, then there is an end of infant baptism." "Of course," Mr. Campbell said, "if infant baptism be not found in Scripture, we can have nothing to do with it." One of the persons present was Thomas Acheson, who seemed to be deeply moved by this unexpected application of the motto, and exclaimed, with some excitement: "I hope I may never see the day when my heart will renounce that blessed saying of Scripture, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.'" James Foster, another person present, ventured to respond: "Mr. Acheson, I would remark that in the portion of Scripture you have quoted there is no reference whatever to infant baptism." The company were by no means favorably disposed to abandon at once the baptism of infants. Mr. Campbell himself, as we shall see, still believed that there was Scripture precept and example for infant baptism. It was agreed to treat the practice as a matter of forbearance. When Mr. Campbell a little later was asked by James Foster, "Father Campbell, how could you in the absence of any authority in the Word of God, baptize a child in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit?" he replied: "Sir, you are the most intractable person I ever met."

It was so far merely a question of Scripture precept and example.

The question of a believing church membership and of the relation of faith to the ordinance of baptism were not raised at this time. With all the differences in this collection of people, for they represented nearly every phase of denominational difference, there was, notwithstanding, a bond of sympathy which drew them together. At a meeting held at the headwaters of the Buffalo, August 17, 1809, it was resolved to form themselves into a regular association under the name of "The Christian Association of Washington." They appointed twenty-one of their number to draw up articles of association, with Mr. Campbell as adviser in chief. He drew up what he called a "Declaration and Address," setting forth the principles upon which they should act, and the reason for the new association. This document was read at a special meeting of the chief members, adopted and ordered printed September 7, 1809. The following quotation from the preamble of the Declaration will best indicate the motive which moved them: "Our desire, therefore, for ourselves and brethren, would be that rejecting human opinions and the inventions of men as of any authority, or as having any place in the church of God, we might forever cease from further contention about such things, returning to and holding fast by the original standard, taking the divine Word alone for our rule, the Holy Spirit for our teacher and guide to lead us into all truth, and Christ alone, as exhibited in the Word, for our salvation; and that by so doing we may be at peace among ourselves, follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord." In five brief resolutions they defined the scope and purpose of the Association to be "the promoting of simple, evangelical Christianity, free from all mixture of human opinions and inventions of men"; "the raising of a fund to support a pure Gospel ministry, that shall reduce to practice that whole form of doctrine, worship, discipline and government expressly revealed and enjoined in the Word of God; and also for supplying the poor with the Holy Scriptures"; "to encourage the formation of similar associations"; "to consider their associations as in nowise a church, but merely as voluntary advocates for church reformation"; "and to countenance and support only those ministers who exhibit in their lives and teaching conformity to the original standard, and who shall inculcate nothing as a matter of Christian faith or duty but for which there can be expressly produced a 'Thus saith the Lord,' either in express terms or by approved precedent." A standing committee of twenty-

one members was appointed to carry out the purposes of the Association. There were to be semi-annual meetings the first Thursday in May and November.

In the midst of these events and changes the son of Thomas Campbell arrived with the family from Scotland. Alexander had spent a year at the University of Glasgow, where he came into very close touch with the work of the Haldanes and other religious movements of the country. During the two years of separation from his father the son's mind had undergone momentous change on religious subjects. He had grown entirely away from the Seceder Church, and had found it impossible to commune with it in Glasgow. When the son reached America he found himself in entire accord with his father's views and action, and with the principles of the "Declaration and Address," as they were rehearsed to him very soon after his arrival. It was a surprise to both father and son to find themselves sharing each other's views, when each had expected to shock the other upon the disclosure of his sentiments. The son joined heartily in the labors of his father and was soon found to be leading the father in the radical application of the principles. When he examined the proofsheets of the "Declaration and Address," he said to his father that upon such principles they would have to abandon infant baptism. This conviction seems to have been more deeply impressed upon him by a conversation with a Presbyterian minister by the name of Riddle concerning the principles of the "Declaration and Address," in which he said: "Sir, these words, however plausible in appearance, are not sound. For if you follow these out you must become a Baptist." Alexander was thus stimulated to make a thorough examination of the Scriptures on the subject of baptism, infant baptism in particular. He read exhaustively the literature on both sides of the question, but finally cast all authorities aside and shut himself up with his Greek New Testament. Both father and son came finally to admit that there was neither "express terms" nor "approved precedent" for the practice of infant baptism.

The "Christian Association of Washington" began to take on a more definite and fixed form before the community. They had built a log meeting-house in which Thomas Campbell conducted Sunday services regularly. The members for the most part held formal church membership in the various churches of the region. But a process of elimination and crystallization was going on, which

gave to the Association the appearance of a new denomination. They were not received cordially by the various denominations or introduced to their congregations. They found one by one the avenues of approach cut off by which they had hoped to carry on an interdenominational propaganda of the principles of the "Declaration and Address." It was a fond dream which they could scarcely hope to realize under the conditions of religious society at that time. For the various denominations to have invited and welcomed the ministers of the "Christian Association" into their churches and given them a hearing would have been suicidal. With the reverence in which the various confessions and testimonies were held in those days by their respective churches, the assault upon "human creeds," "partyism," "man-made bonds of union," "the horrid evil of division," and the appeal to unite upon the Scriptures alone would not be listened to patiently. Avow as sincerely as they would their "perfectly amicable intentions with respect to all churches of Christ," they were nevertheless shut out from the churches and denied a hearing on every occasion.

It began to dawn upon the Campbells that they were in danger of becoming another sect among the sects, and to stand in the ridiculous light of a sect pleading for the destruction of sectarianism. Whether the Campbells first made overtures for reception into a Presbyterian synod or a Presbyterian synod first made overtures to them for ecclesiastical union is not clear. There were, however, sufficient advances on both sides to assure the members of the "Christian Association" that they would be gladly welcomed into the fellowship of the Presbyterian Church. They all professed adherence, for the most part, to the Westminster Confession, with the exception of Thomas Campbell, who took exception to the chapter conferring power upon the clergy. Fearing, therefore, that they were fast becoming a distinct religious body, they were willing to concede many differences and forbear in order to be received into the Presbyterian Church. To this end Thomas Campbell made overtures to the synod of Pittsburg. He seems to have gone in the capacity of a representative of the "Christian Association" and to have stipulated that its propaganda should go on just the same, even under the shelter of the Presbyterian Church. The synod declined to receive Mr. Campbell and the "Christian Association" because they believed the principles of the "Declaration and Address" would be destructive of the peace of the church; and for

expressing his opinion that there were things taught in the Westminster Confession not found in the Bible; that the baptism of infants was not authorized by scriptural precept or example, yet administering that ordinance while holding such an opinion; for encouraging or countenancing his son to preach the Gospel without any regular authority; for opposing creeds and confessions as injurious to the interests of religion, and because it was not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that synod should form a connection with any ministers, churches or associations. This took place in October, 1810. The failure of this well-meant effort for union was a foregone conclusion and was urged on to the issue by the over-sanguine hopefulness and confidence of the father in the principles he had adopted; for the son seems not to have encouraged the overture, but rather to have anticipated the failure. The action and reply of the synod to the application for admission was looked upon as an affront and accepted as a challenge by the Association. Alexander Campbell was put forward to reply to it, which he did in a publicly announced discourse a few days after the adjournment of the synod. This was the beginning of that long career of public controversy which Alexander Campbell felt called upon to follow. The results of this first public encounter with opposition and criticism was highly gratifying to the Christian Association.

The circuit of their preaching tours was gradually enlarged until it included more than half a dozen school and private houses. On one of these tours Alexander was stopping at the home of one of his newly made friends, when he met a Baptist minister with whom he discussed the question of baptism. At that time Alexander Campbell took the side of the Pedobaptists in the discussion. He seems to have been confused and baffled by the Baptist minister. Denied fellowship on all sides the Christian Association began to take steps towards organizing as a regular church. This was accordingly done at the May meeting of the Association in 1811. Thomas Campbell was appointed elder; Alexander Campbell was licensed to preach and four deacons were chosen. A test question was proposed to each one who applied for membership, and the answers passed upon by Thomas Campbell. The question asked was, "What is the meritorious cause of the sinner's acceptance with God?" This form of initiation was not then strictly adhered to, for one man was taken in without answering the question. Two were denied fellow-

ship for insufficient answers. This was the first and last time such a procedure was gone through with as a condition of entrance into the church. Immediately after the organization of this first church Alexander started out on his first preaching tour. A new meeting-house was built in his absence. The Lord's supper was celebrated every Lord's day. Some of the members were observed not to partake of the emblems, and when asked said they did not feel authorized so to do because they had never been baptized. One of these was the daughter of a Baptist. This seems to have brought up the question of the mode of baptism, the matter in dispute before having been the subject of baptism. Joseph Bryant, one of the non-communicants at the Lord's supper, insisted on being immersed as the only proper way of being baptized. Thomas Campbell performed the ceremony July 4, 1811. Many persons who at first followed the Christian Association withdrew when they saw the direction things were taking. At its organization the first church at Brush Run numbered but thirty members.

The year 1811 was thus an important year. Alexander Campbell made several extended preaching tours in the neighboring parts of Ohio and West Virginia. Both father and son were carefully working out their teaching along the lines of the "Declaration and Address" upon the basis of the plain Word of God. One question after another came up in succession, covering the whole range of Christian faith and life, church order and government. Among others, ordination, the authority of the local congregation, the apostolic form of church government, were all investigated and settled according to the teaching and example of the Word of God.

On the first day of the year 1812 Alexander was ordained to the work of the ministry after what he believed to be a New Testament form and example by the laying on of hands. He regarded the ceremony of ordination as merely a "public testimony that the persons ordained possessed the necessary authority" to preach the gospel and administer the ordinances. The whole question of baptism was forced anew upon Alexander by the birth of his first child. His wife and her parents were members of the Presbyterian Church. Hitherto infant baptism and the form of baptism had been treated as matters of forbearance, or, as he said, "let slip" as unimportant. But now he goes over the whole subject again and concludes that only believers may be baptized, and only immersion is properly bap-

tism. That being true, then he had never been baptized. "Having formed some acquaintance with a Matthias Luce, a Baptist preacher who lived above Washington, he concluded to make application to him to perform the rite, and on his way to visit him called to see his father and family." He discovered that one of his sisters had made up her mind to be immersed. He presented the matter to his father, who seemed somewhat surprised, but made no objection. June 12, 1812, was the day set apart by Mr. Luce to immerse Alexander Campbell and his wife. Before the day arrived his father with all his family concluded to submit to the rite. Seven persons in all were baptized on that day. One after another the members of the Brush Run church came forward asking to be immersed, until in a short time the church consisted of none but immersed believers. Those who did not ask immersion withdrew from the church, so that in many respects during the year 1812 it became a Baptist church without the name.

The result of the adoption of Baptist views on baptism was necessarily to separate the church from the sympathies of the Pedobaptist community. The Campbells had always entertained a kind of antipathy towards the Baptists as a comparatively uneducated people. There were but few Baptists in that region, and at this time they had little or no acquaintance with them, much less any leaning toward them as a people. But now that the Campbells and the Brush Run church found themselves upon Baptist ground, they began to make the acquaintance of members of that particular fold.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNION WITH THE BAPTISTS.

When the report went out that the Brush Run church, led by the Campbells, had been converted into a church of immersed believers, the acquaintance of the Campbells with the Baptists of the region extended very rapidly, especially among the members of the Redstone Association. His acquaintance thus far, as has been observed, was very limited, and his opinion of them, especially the ministry, very low. Speaking of this period in 1848 he says: "I had no idea of uniting with the Baptists more than with the Moravians or the mere Independents. I had unfortunately formed a very unfavorable opinion of the Baptist preachers as then introduced to my acquaintance, as narrow, contracted, illiberal and uneducated men. . . . . The people, however, called Baptists were much more highly appreciated by me than their ministry. Indeed, the ministry of some sects is generally in the aggregate the worse portion of them. It was certainly so in the Redstone Association thirty years ago. They were little men in a big office. The office did not fit them. They had a wrong idea, too, of what was wanting. They seemed to think that a change of apparel — a black coat instead of a drab — a broad rim on their hat instead of a narrow one — a prolongation of their face and a fictitious gravity — a long and more emphatic pronunciation of certain words rather than scriptural knowledge, humility, spirituality, zeal and Christian affection, with great devotion and great philanthropy, were the grand desiderata. . . . . I, therefore, could not esteem them nor court their favor by offering any incense at their shrine. I resolved to have nothing especially to do with them more than with other preachers and teachers. The clergy of my acquaintance in other parties of that day were, as they believed, educated men, and called the Baptists illiterate and uncouth men, without either learning or academic accomplishments or polish. . . . . I confess, however, that I was better pleased with the Baptist people than with any other community. They read the Bible and seemed to care for little else in religion than "conversion" and "Bible doctrine." They often sent for us and pressed us to preach for them."[1]

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1848, 344; Memoirs, I. 438.

Mr. Campbell began to visit the churches, and "on acquaintance liked the people more and the preachers less." He determined to visit the meeting of the Redstone Association at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1812. He went there as an auditor and spectator, but was pressed by the people to speak at the meeting. He yielded so far as to speak to a small company of thirty or forty people in a private house. He discovered at this meeting that the Baptists did not like the preaching or the preachers any more than he. He was urged to visit their churches and preach for them. Mr. Campbell had already developed power as a speaker, and was eagerly sought after by the people of all the churches wherever he was known. He often spoke for Baptist churches in a circuit of sixty miles, and was urged by them to join the Redstone Association. The matter was laid before the Brush Run church in the fall of 1813. The church drew up a statement of their views on religious subjects, apparently in accord with the "Declaration and Address," and closed by expressing a willingness to co-operate or unite with that Association on the condition that they be "allowed to teach and preach whatever they learned from the Holy Scriptures." The document was laid before the Redstone Association, and after much debate, it was voted to receive them. Thus the union was effected. The Brush Run church, meeting at two places, Brush Run and Cross Roads, was received into the fellowship of Baptist churches. From this time Mr. Campbell regarded himself as a member of that denomination.

It ought to be observed that at the time of this union, a small minority of ministers composed of Elder Pritchard, of Cross Creek, Virginia, Elder Brownfield, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and an Elder Stone and his son, of Ohio, were opposed to it. They seem not to have been reconciled to the action of the majority. Mr. Campbell's spirit of independence and his hostility to creeds and the rule of the clergy, and withal his refusal to subscribe to any confession of faith in uniting with the Association, were not pleasing to a few active ministers. The Redstone Association of churches had adopted the "Philadelphia Confession." To this Mr. Campbell would not subscribe or allow his associates to subscribe.

The merely formal union of the Brush Run church with the Redstone Association of Baptist churches, did not signify or insure a real union in usage and doctrine. There was sufficient resemblance between them to draw them together and into mutual sympathy; but

this resemblance consisted chiefly in church polity and the form and subjects of baptism. This would necessarily identify them in the estimation of the superficial observer. As a matter of fact the Campbells had arrived before that time at views on many primary religious subjects, which separated them from the Baptists.

1. At that time Alexander Campbell had arrived at a view of the design and place of baptism which was not held by the Baptists, and indeed conflicted with the doctrine commonly held by them.[1] In the year 1811-12 he declared baptism to be "the first formal and comprehensive act of the obedience of faith."[2] In his baptism at the hands of Mr. Luce he did not strictly conform to Baptist custom. He refused to submit to any examination, or to relate any experience before an examining committee, or to subscribe to any other confession of faith than that used by the apostles. To these conditions Mr. Luce reluctantly yielded, declaring that he would run the risk of being censured by his Baptist brethren. The entire company were accordingly baptized upon a confession of their faith that Jesus was the Christ, thus plainly conflicting with Baptist usage. It offended the very spirit of Baptist doctrine and practice, which had always and everywhere insisted upon an examination and relation of Christian experience from the candidate, to insure a regenerate church membership.

2. There was also a difference between the Brush Run church and the regular Baptist churches in the administration of the Lord's supper.[3] The Brush Run church celebrated the supper every Lord's day, while the Baptist churches only monthly or quarterly. So high an estimate did Thomas Campbell have of the place of the supper in the worship of the church that he declared as early as 1811-12, that "instituted worship can be nowhere performed upon the Lord's day, where the Lord's Supper is not administered. Wherever this is neglected, there New Testament worship ceases."[4] The biographer of Alexander Campbell says that in "these sentiments . . . . the son substantially agreed." The Brush Run church at this time apparently shared Baptist views of close communion, for "none but baptized believers were invited to partake." Yet the line was not strictly drawn between the pious immersed and unimmersed, for

[1] Memoirs, I. 398, 410, 450.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1848, p. 282.
[3] Memoirs, I. 368, 372, 455.
[4] Memoirs, I. 450.

Thomas Campbell declared in 1812, "We believe, as we have a right to hope, that there are Christians in all the denominations of professors where the great fundamental truths of the gospel are acknowledged." "Moreover, every irregularity, error or mistake does not unpeople a professing people. Therefore I conclude that where we hear an open faithful testimony against the existing evils of a professing people who acknowledge the great fundamental truths of the gospel, we are warranted to join in all public acts of religious worship with such of them as voluntarily attend upon our ministrations."[1] Richardson tells us that shortly after the writing of the above, when the church became a company of immersed believers, they were inclined to go to the extreme "of recognizing as duly prepared to partake in religious services, only those who had been immersed." They seem never to have made this a part of their practice.

3. Before this union with the Baptists, Campbell had come to his views on the relation of the old and new covenants, which were afterwards made the occasion of the first charge of heresy against him by some members of the Redstone Association. In 1812 he wrote to his father as follows: "How many disciples of Moses are to be found in the professed school of Jesus Christ! and how few among the teachers of the New Testament seem to know that Christ's ministers are not able ministers of the Old Testament, but of the New! Do they not, like scholars to their teacher, run to Moses to prove forms of worship, ordinances, discipline, and government in the Christian Church, when asked to account for their practice?"[2] Here lie the germs of that famous "Sermon on the Law" delivered in 1816 before the Redstone Association, out of which also grew his system of teaching concerning the various covenants and their relative authority. To a Baptist of that day every part of Scripture was equally authoritative. To declare that the Christian was not under the Old Testament but the New, not under Moses but under Christ, not under law but under grace, was an intolerable heresy. Yet this was the view entertained by Campbell when he joined the Baptist association.

4. His view of ordination at this time was very loose to a Baptist way of thinking, and his estimate of an ordained minister's authority very low.[3] This was one of the grave offenses to the

[1] Memoirs, I. 453.
[2] Memoirs, I. 448.
[3] Memoirs, I. 327, 328.

Presbyterian synod at the time of the negotiations for union, and would be offensive to a Baptist. He did not regard ordination as essential to the exercise of the functions of the ministerial office. He himself had exercised them more than a year before his ordination.[1] His reply to the strictures of the Presbyterian synod on their position, that it "degraded the ministerial character" and "opened the door for lay preaching," was, that "the Scriptures know no difference between laical and clerical preachers; that it was the indispensable duty of every Christian to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come; and that many eminent ministers, many eminent preachers preached for a long time without any ordination at all. See Acts 8, 4. 11:19, 20, 21." Yet he acknowledged that the Scriptures contained examples of ordination, and that it was both scriptural and expedient as a means to good order in the church.[2] The form of ordination itself did not confer any authority, but was merely a public testimony that the persons ordained possessed the necessary qualifications. It was not in the power or province of the clergy to consecrate or set apart to the ministry, but was both the right and the duty of the people. He says: "You see that ordination is not a mere unmeaning thing, but consists in the choice of the people, which must be hearty, and that it might be evidenced, the elders or rulers impose their hands. Why do we contend for uninterrupted succession in ordination, seeing it is not the persons called bishops who have the power, but the people? How comes it that we contend so much about having persons of superior authority to constitute when inferiors have ordained superiors? Acts 13:1-3. I. Cor. 12:28. How many persons preached and baptized without ordination? Acts, 8, 1-4."

5. Where he came into chief conflict with the Baptists of that day, was in his view of faith in its relation to regeneration. The Baptists of western Pennsylvania were thoroughly Calvinistic. The Redstone Association had adopted the "Philadelphia Confession" of 1742 as its doctrinal standard. This confession was but a form of the "Westminster Confession," slightly amended to adapt it to Baptist usage. The fundamental doctrine of it, the chapters on "The Divine Decrees," "Adoption," "Saving Faith," and the "Perseverance of the Saints" were carried over unchanged. These Calvinistic doctrines were carried to an extreme by the Baptist preachers of the

[1] Memoirs, I. 342, 349.
[2] Memoirs, I. 382, 383.

South and West. Wayland, writing in 1856, says that "within the last fifty years a change has gradually taken place in the views of a large party of our brethren. At the commencement of that period *Gill's Divinity* was a sort of standard, and Baptists imbibing his opinions were what may be called almost hyper-Calvinistic."[1] The same testimony is borne by Dr. Jeter in his *Campbellism Examined*.[2] The doctrine of human inability, or the helplessness of the will in conversion, was carried to an extreme. In harmony with the Philadelphia Confession these Baptists taught the initial and irresistible power of the Holy Spirit in regeneration; that faith was wrought in the heart by an act of divine power or regenerating grace.

Alexander Campbell held substantially this same view in 1811. In a sermon of that year, April 7, he says, "This faith we are constantly led to understand is of the operation of God and an effect of Almighty power and regenerating grace."[3] But in 1812 his mind undergoes a change, and in a letter to his father, March 28, he denies that a man must be regenerated previous to the first act of faith,[4] "for if regeneration be the communication of spiritual and eternal life, and if this be previous to faith, then a man may live and die and enjoy eternal life without faith." He then elaborates a view of the subject which he held unchanged to the close of his life, and one which was universally adopted by his followers, namely, that "the word of God is the means of regeneration — not a means which man uses, but a means which God uses. James 1:18. I. Pet. 1:23." Starting with the doctrine that "God in Christ, or God, laying and executing all his purposes of creation, sustentation, gubernation, redemption, and judgment, in and by Jesus Christ, is the adequate, comprehensive, and adorable object of the Christian faith," Thomas Campbell declared in a letter to his son in 1811-12: "The full and firm persuasion then, or hearty belief of the divine testimony concerning Jesus . . . . is that faith in its proper and primary acceptation, to which the promises and privileges of salvation are annexed."[5] In other words, faith is the hearty belief that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and grows out of the hearing or receiving

[1] Wayland, F., "Baptist Principle and Practice," 68. Vedder, Henry C., "History of the Baptists in Middle States," 192.

[2] Jeter, J. B., "Campbellism Examined," 79, 80.

[3] Memoirs, I. 376.

[4] Memoirs, I. 422.

[5] Memoirs, I. 416.

of testimony to that fact. The son in reply to his father uses the following sentence: "Surely it is only the man who believes the divine records and trusts in the death of Jesus Christ, that can be considered as having been reconciled through the infinite goodness of God."[1] It is clearly evident that his view of faith in its relation to regeneration squarely conflicted with the prevailing Baptist views.

It is not clear that all these views were known to the Baptists of the Redstone Association when the union took place. The most of them probably did not go behind what appeared to all, and rested content with that, namely, the fact that the Campbells and the Brush Run church had adopted the immersion of a believer as the only true scriptural baptism. That patent fact made them Baptists. Just what the document contained, in which they set forth their "sentiments, wishes and determinations" as the conditions of union, is not certain, for it was not preserved. Probably not a detailed statement of doctrinal opinions, but only such matters as pertained to a formal union of one church with an association of Baptist churches. It must be observed that the Brush Run church was received as a whole, not as individuals. The process would have been very different if they had been received one by one into some Baptist church. It was an exceptional case for which there was no fixed rule of procedure in Baptist usage. The lay members of the Association seem to have been more cordial than the ministers in their welcome of the new church. The dissent arose among the ministers, who would be more likely to look beneath the surface and detect germinal differences. There was that independent and bold spirit manifested by the Campbells and breathing in their principles, which was more inimical than any variation in outward form or practice. The ministers could augur no good to the cherished usages and beliefs of the Baptist Church from the introduction of such men. For who could tell at what moment they would make some new discovery in the New Testament which would discredit the old practices and necessitate a readjustment? They were like vessels without anchorage. They had set sail under the direction of the rule "where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent," and had insisted as a condition of entrance into the Baptist fold, "that they should be allowed to teach and preach whatever they learned from the Holy Scriptures, regardless of any creed or formula in Christen-

[1] Memoirs, I. 425.

283

dom." The Baptists thought that they themselves occupied ground new enough and peculiar enough, which they had but recently won through suffering. These differences, and the circumstances attending the union with the Association, were sufficient to awaken a more or less open opposition on the part of a few, and to presage wider differences in the future.

CHAPTER III.

THE SERMON ON THE LAW.

Mr. Campbell's introduction to the Baptist body was an opportunity for the dissemination of his views which he was quick to appreciate and improve. He did not need to force himself upon their recognition, for his exceptional powers as a speaker brought him into immediate favor and requisition by Baptist churches in a wide circle about his home, which gradually extended as they became acquainted with him. He was claimed by the Baptists and as a matter of course wherever he went Baptist churches were open to him, where he found an audience already called together and waiting for him. On every such occasion the subject of his discourse were the principles of the new reformation which he felt called to advocate. This is characteristically illustrated on a trip he made to Philadelphia and the East to collect money among Baptist churches to build a Baptist meeting-house in Charlestown, Virginia. His wife's father and mother, shortly after the union with the Redstone Association, were immersed and received into the Brush Run church. This church had decided by a vote to move as a body to Zanesville, Ohio; but to prevent the removal of Campbell and his wife, her father, Mr. Brown, deeded to his son-in-law his farm. Finding himself thus cumbered with his new possessions he concluded not to emigrate with the church to Ohio. This action resulted in the abandonment of the enterprise by the entire congregation.

Mr. Brown removed his family to Charlestown to engage in business. His church membership was placed with the Baptist Church at Cross Creek, three miles from Charlestown. Charlestown was without a meeting-house of any kind. To provide one for the use of the Baptists, Mr. Campbell volunteered his services for four months to solicit funds. He went to Philadelphia and was invited by a Baptist pastor to occupy his pulpit. He delivered two discourses to the congregation, dwelling upon his favorite views of the gospel. They awakened opposition at once in the Baptist pastor, who was careful not to invite him again into his pulpit. His journey took him to Trenton and other towns in New Jersey, and to New York, and Washington City. In all of these places he came into immediate

contact with Baptists. He returned home with about one thousand dollars with which a meeting-house was soon erected in Charlestown. The erection of this house gave offense to the Baptist pastor at Cross Creek, by the name of Pritchard, one of the three or four ministers who opposed the reception of the Brush Run church. He regarded it as an attempt on the part of Mr. Campbell to weaken his church at Cross Creek only three miles away.

The next meeting of the Redstone Association was at hand. It met August 30, 1816, at Cross Creek. Mr. Campbell came as a messenger from the Brush Run church. At these meetings the various preachers present, whom the people desired to hear, were put on the program for sermons. More than any other preacher in the Association the people were eager to hear Mr. Campbell, and he was put on the program. But Mr. Pritchard objected on the ground that it was near Mr. Campbell's home, so that the people could hear him any time. There was a kind of unwritten law, to which he appealed, that those preachers who came from a distance should be honored with a place on the program. The name of Elder Stone was substituted for that of Mr. Campbell. This change, however, did not suit the majority of the Association, and very conveniently Elder Stone was taken sick; so that the name of Mr. Campbell went back on the program. He preached from the passage in Romans 8:3, the famous Sermon on the Law, which created such excitement subsequently in the Baptist community. The biographer of Mr. Campbell represents that an attempt was made to disturb the meeting, on account of the fainting of a woman in the audience. This sermon was a complete exposition of the views he had adopted as early as 1812 on the relations of the two covenants. He maintained the position that the Christian is not under the law of Moses or the old covenant; that the old covenant, which was one of circumcision and works, had been abrogated, and was therefore not binding upon Christians; and that when Jesus sent out his apostles to preach he instructed them to preach the gospel, not the law, as a means to conversion. During the delivery of it, writes Mr. Campbell in the *Millennial Harbinger* of 1848, page 348, "an over-zealous elder called a council of the preachers and proposed to have me forthwith condemned before the people by a formal declaration from the stand — repudiating my discourse as not Baptist doctrine." One of the elders, still living and still a Baptist, said, "Elder Pritchard, I am not yet prepared to say whether it be or be not Bible doctrine, but one thing I

can say, were we to make such an annunciation, we would sacrifice ourselves and not Mr. Campbell." The criticism of the sermon became so severe that he was obliged to have it printed to avoid misunderstanding, and allow of a careful reading by the public. A movement was at once set on foot to charge Mr. Campbell with heresy and have his sermon condemned at the next regular meeting of the Association at Peter's Creek in 1817. The question was brought up and a discussion upon it was begun, but through the intervention of friends, it was dropped. At this meeting in 1816 Thomas Campbell brought a letter from a church of immersed believers in Pittsburg, whither he had moved the preceding year, requesting union as a church with the Association. The minutes of the Association read: "Voted, that as this letter is not presented according to the constitution of this Association, the request cannot be granted."[1] The Association had learned greater carefulness by their experience in admitting the Brush Run church, and were wary of any more accessions through the recommendation of the Campbells. The relations between them and the Association began already to be somewhat strained and formal. The cry that had been raised against Mr. Campbell succeeded in closing the ears of many people, and the doors of many churches against his teachings. He says: "Till this time we had labored much among the Baptists with good effect"; but now, he says, "I itinerated less than before in my labors in the gospel and confined my attention to three or four little communities constituted on the Bible, one in Ohio, one in Virginia, and two in Pennsylvania. Once or twice a year I made excursions amongst the Regular Baptists, but with little hope of being useful to the Redstone Association."

His time and strength were measurably occupied in the management of a seminary, chiefly for young men, called "Buffalo Seminary." This was undertaken for the purpose of bringing the minds of young men under the influence of his teachings, and thus of providing co-laborers to share with him the work of reformation. This was but another step in the prosecution of the plan outlined in the Declaration and Address, "to support a pure gospel ministry, that shall reduce to practice that whole form of doctrine worship, discipline and government expressly revealed and enjoined in the word of God." The steadily ruling purpose from which he does not seem to have been turned for a moment, was to reform the existing

[1] Memoirs, I. 480.

churches and establish new ones after the model of the New Testament. For this purpose the Baptist Church seemed to offer a more suitable platform, and the Baptist people a more fruitful field than any other.

It should be remembered that when Mr. Campbell came among the Baptists he stipulated as the condition of union with them, the preservation of his independence, so that in becoming a Baptist he did not become a " party man," and never so regarded himself. This is clear from a letter he wrote to an uncle in Ireland in 1815: " For my own part, I must say that, after long study and investigation of books, and more especially the Sacred Scriptures, I have through clear convictions of truth and duty, renounced much of the traditions and errors of my early education. I am now an Independent in church government; of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker's *Seven Letters to Alexander Knox,* and a Baptist so far as regards baptism. What I am in religion I am from examination, reflection, and conviction, not from ' ipse dixit ' tradition or human authority." [1]

He was possessed at this time with the conviction that a reformation was needed in the religious world. He felt that many things needed setting right among the Baptists. He never lost an opportunity of pointing out the things that were wanting. It will be observed that his marriage to Miss Brown had already taken place, which placed his support beyond all uncertainty. His circumstances were peculiarly fortunate for doing the work he set himself to do. His own father was without any property, so he could not look in that direction for means to support himself in his work of reformation. His living would have been of the most precarious sort itinerating as he did far and near in the surrounding country. He was now perfectly independent in fortune so that he had nothing to fear from offending the cherished beliefs of men. They could not cut off his support, for he was not dependent upon them. Whether he had in him the stuff out of which martyrs are made, there is no means of knowing, for he was raised above the danger of suffering in either body or estate, whatever course he might pursue. Interesting light is thrown upon his inner purposes by a recital of the " special instances of Divine power which," he says, " I consider to bind me under obligation to be specially devoted to him, with my whole mind, soul and body." " In the particular persecution that befell my father,

[1] Memoirs, I. 466.

which shut up any prospects of support in the exercise of that office, yet in my giving it the preference." "In my favorable and easy circumstances for that purpose." "In giving me a choice companion congenial to my inclination of serving him." "In my desire to suffer hardships and reproaches in that good work."[1] "These memorabilia of the heart" were written December 25, 1811. As to his sufferings from reproaches, they do not seem to have been of a very poignant nature. Constituted as he was, he drew them upon himself and they finally became the conditions of his keenest intellectual activity, while they in no wise robbed him of any peace of mind. Notwithstanding the attempt of a few Baptists to cut off his influence with the denomination in that region, he seems to have grown in favor and stood high in its confidence.

When the Baptist faith stood challenged to public vindication, all eyes turned toward the brilliant and versatile disputant from the Buffalo Seminary, and he was unanimously chosen by the Baptists as their champion.

[1] Memoirs, I. 380.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEBATES WITH JOHN WALKER AND W. L. MACCALLA.

In the spring of 1820, Mr. Campbell was urged to debate the question of baptism with a Presbyterian minister by the name of John Walker. A Baptist minister by the name of John Birch had baptized an unusual number of persons, near Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in the fall of 1819. This aroused the zeal of Mr. Walker, the Presbyterian minister of the same place, who thought the best way to promote the gospel or check the progress of the Baptists, was to show the error of Baptist ways. A personal dispute arose between the two ministers over something Mr. Walker had quoted; and led to a challenge by Mr. Walker to Mr. Birch or any other Baptist minister of good standing whom Mr. Birch might choose, to debate the question of baptism. The challenge was accepted, and Mr. Birch wrote at once to Alexander Campbell asking him to undertake the discussion. Mr. Campbell did not reply at once. This brought forth a second and a third request from Mr. Birch before he received an answer from Mr. Campbell. The reason for the delay was Mr. Campbell's reluctance to introduce such subjects into public debate. He did not believe it would promote either the truth, or the union of Christians. The following letter addressed to him by Mr. Birch, March 27, broke down his opposition: "Dear Brother: I once more undertake to address you by letter; as we are commanded not to weary in well-doing, I am disposed to persevere. I am coming this third time unto you. I can not persuade myself that you will refuse to attend to the dispute with Mr. Walker, therefore I do not feel disposed to complain because you have sent me no answer. True, I have expected an answer, signifying your aceptance of the same. I am as yet disappointed, but am not offended nor discouraged. I can truly say it is the unanimous wish of all the church to which I belong, that you should be the disputant. It is Brother Nathaniel Skinner's desire; it is the wish of all the brethren with whom I have conversed, that you should be the man."[1]

The debate took place June 19 and 20, 1820, at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, twenty-three miles from Mr. Campbell's home. The subject

[1] Memoirs, II. 15.

of the debate as stated in the fourth rule of the discussion, was to be "the proper subject of the ordinance of baptism, then the mode of baptism." The debate was to continue from day to day until the people were satisfied, or the moderators thought that enough had been said on each topic of debate. Mr. Walker was to open and Mr. Campbell was to close the debate. The propositions which he proposed to maintain were: "That baptism came in the room of circumcision; that the covenant on which the Jewish church was built, and to which circumcision was the seal, is the same with the covenant on which the Christian church is built, and to which baptism is the seal; that the Jews and the Christians are the same body politic under the same law-giver and husband, ... consequently the infants of believers have a right to baptism."

Nothing could have been stated more clearly than these propositions. No one could have held more diametrically opposite views than Mr. Campbell. The question of the covenants was familiar ground to him. He had been in training for the last eight years to meet these propositions. He knew the ground from first to last. The principles set forth in the "Sermon on the Law," which were considered as rank heresy by the Baptists of 1816, were now marshaled in refutation of these propositions. The disputants traversed other ground usually fought over between Baptists and Pedobaptists of that time, such as the question of "household baptisms"; but the stronghold of Mr. Walker's position was the identity of the two covenants. This proven, it carried everything else with it, down to infant membership in the church. At this citadel Mr. Campbell aimed all the shafts of his dialectic. It would be interesting to follow the two disputants through all the windings of their arguments; but I am only concerned to point out that Mr. Campbell's position concerning the abrogation of the old covenant by the institution of the new, though strange and heretical to the Baptists of that day, was the only possible reply to be made to the propositions of Mr. Walker. They could not have been met on any other ground with any hope of success. Mr. Walker himself seems to have felt the weakening of his position under the fire of Mr. Campbell, and to have abandoned it for another position, the argument from antiquity.

From the proper subject for baptism, the debaters passed to the mode of baptism. The usual ground was gone over as in all the baptismal controversies of the day. Mr. Campbell took occasion dur-

ing the debate to interject very much of his reformatory teaching, and went out of his way to nail false rumors about his teaching. Addressing himself to the charge that he was "changeable," he says: "I have to this day undeviatingly pursued the same course which I commenced nearly as soon as I was of age, and have now prosecuted it for almost ten years, viz., to teach, to believe, to practice nothing in religion for which I can not present positive precept or approved precedent from the word of God." The charge that he was an "antinomian" and "threw away the Old Testament Scriptures," he brands as "malicious and unfounded insinuations," and "vile slanders." In the midst of the discussion he took occasion to announce an entirely novel position concerning the design of baptism, for the first time clearly set forth by him. "Baptism," he said, "is connected with the promise of the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit." He did not dwell upon it or show its implications then; probably he had not fully thought them out. But this was the first utterance of a doctrine which more than any other was to separate him in thought from the Baptists. At the close of the debate he issued a challenge to "any Pedobaptist minister of any denomination" to debate with him the influence of infant sprinkling on the well-being of society. The victory of the contest, so the narrator of the events relates, lay with Mr. Campbell. Whether this was due more to his superior ability and power as a disputant than to the merit of the argument, must be left to each mind to decide.

This was the first great opportunity of his life to disseminate his views. The Baptists were present in great numbers and felt a keen pride in their champion, yet "remained extremely dubious in regard to the orthodoxy of their champion."[1] The debate was printed and sent forth into the religious communities of the region and aided very much in correcting false reports of the teaching of Mr. Campbell. A very important consequence grew out of the publication of this debate and its reading by a Baptist minister by the name of Adamson Bentley. This man lived at Warren, Ohio. He was of great influence among the Baptists and stood deservedly high. He is reported to have said when he heard some one trying to injure Mr. Campbell, that he thought Mr. Campbell had done more for the Baptists than any man in the West. The first opportunity that offered itself, he went to visit him. This took place in the summer of 1821. He was accompanied by Sidney Rigdon, then a Baptist

[1] Memoirs, II. 43.

preacher of great oratorical power, who later made his name conspicuous by his conversion to Mormonism. Mr. Campbell was repeatedly urged to visit the Baptist churches of the Western Reserve, but especially to attend the meetings of the Mahoning Association, which was organized in August, 1820. The Baptist ministers were in the habit of holding ministers' meetings once a year in different sections of Ohio. To all these meetings Mr. Campbell was accustomed to go. They were open to him for addresses, and were characterized by the freest discussion and criticism. He joined with the Baptist ministers and bore a very large part in their deliberations. Speaking of his appreciation of the opportunity offered him in these meetings for the dissemination of his views, he says: "These meetings were not appreciated too highly, as the sequel developed, inasmuch as they disabused the minds of the Baptist ministry in the Mahoning Association of much prejudice, and prepared the way for a great change of views and practice all over those 3,000,000, acres of nine counties which constitute the Western Reserve." In this connection, to anticipate the sequel of which he speaks, and to emphasize the importance of this movement, let it be said that the Baptist churches of the entire Western Reserve with few exceptions went over to the views of Mr. Campbell and joined the "reformation" when the separation took place. This introduction to the Mahoning Association marks the period of his enlarged intercourse with the Baptist churches.[1] The demands for his services as a preacher were becoming so constant and urgent that he was obliged to discontinue his school.

The challenge which he issued at the close of the debate with John Walker was heard from in May, 1823. It had been read by a Presbyterian minister of Kentucky by the name of Maccalla, who sent Mr. Campbell a letter intimating his willingness to accept it. After a long correspondence on the propositions and conditions of the debate, it was finally arranged to take place in October, 1823, at Washington, Kentucky. Before the time arrived for the debate, he transferred his membership from the Redstone Association to the Mahoning. His enemies in the former had been busy from the days of the "Sermon on the Law," seven years before, working up a majority against him in the Association, so that they could expel him. The time was not ripe for this until the meeting of August, 1823. To defeat their purpose he asked letters for himself and sev-

[1] Memoirs, II. 48.

eral other persons from the Brush Run church to form a new church at Wellsburg, formerly called Charlestown, where he had built the new church. The purpose was that this new church might afterwards join the Mahoning Association, where the Baptists were more favorable to him and his views. The letters were granted and the church organized, thus severing his connection with the Redstone Association. When the question of Mr. Campbell's exclusion came up at the meeting, his critics suddenly found he had slipped out of their hands. He was no longer under their jurisdiction. He desired to preserve himself from censure by the Baptists, so that he would not have to go to Kentucky to debate under the ban of his own denomination.

The debate took place as has been stated, at Washington, Kentucky. The subject was the same as that in the debate with Walker, the proper subject, and the form of baptism. Mr. Maccalla took the same position as Mr. Walker in proof of the validity of infant baptism, namely, "That the Christian church is a branch of the Abrahamic — that Jewish circumcision before Christ and Christian baptism after Christ are one and the same seal." Mr. Campbell of course rehearsed the positions he had taken against Mr. Walker. He advanced, however, beyond the teaching of that debate, and produced a new argument against infant baptism from the design of baptism. Here he developed somewhat fully the view he barely expressed in the former debate, that baptism was for the remission of sins. "The water of baptism, then, formally washes away our sins. The blood of Christ really washes away our sins. Paul's sins were really pardoned when he believed. Yet he had no solemn pledge of the fact, no formal acquittal, no formal purgation of his sins until he washed them away in the water of baptism." . . . . "The value and importance of baptism appear from this view of it. It also accounts for baptism being called 'the washing of regeneration.' It shows us a good and valid reason for the dispatch with which this ordinance was administered in the primitive church. The believers did not lose a moment in obtaining the remission of their sins. One argument from this topic is that baptism being ordained to be to a believer a formal and personal remission of all his sins, cannot be administered unto an infant without the greatest perversion and abuse of the nature and import of this ordinance. Indeed why should an infant that never sinned, that, as Calvinists say is guilty only of 'original sin' which is an unit — be baptized for the

remission of sins." Mr. Campbell was conscious that he was innovating on Baptist doctrine in this construction of the design of baptism. He says: "My Baptist brethren, as well as the Pedobaptist brotherhood, I humbly conceive, require to be admonished on this point. You have been, some of you, no doubt, too diffident in asserting this grand import of baptism."[1] Growing immediately out of this view of baptism is another proposition, to which he gave utterance for the first time, viz., "that baptism was never designed for, nor commanded to be administered to, a member of the church."[2] He ever after regarded baptism as the way into the church.[3]

The debate continued seven days. Mr. Campbell had chosen as moderator on his side, Jeremiah Vardeman, a widely known Baptist preacher of Kentucky, who was said to have immersed more persons than any other man of the same age in the United States. The debate was held in the Baptist meeting-house. Mr. Campbell was regarded as the champion and defender of Baptist views and interests in Kentucky. He was at once taken into confidence by Baptists. At a private interview with a company of their ministers, he said: "Brethren, I fear that if you knew me better you would esteem and love me less. For let me tell you that I have almost as much against you Baptists as I have against the Presbyterians."[4] He had brought with him the first few numbers of the "Christian Baptist," — a publication he had just started to advocate his views,— and distributed them among the ministers. They eagerly accepted them and proposed their wide circulation in the state. He was urged to make a tour of the state among Baptist churches. He went so far as to fill a few appointments, and departed from the state promising to return the next fall to make a more extended tour.

Mr. Campbell was now fully persuaded that debates were a good thing; as he said: "A week's debating is worth a year's preaching."[5] The debate was attended by crowds of people. Mr. Campbell's reputation as one of the first pulpit orators of the day was established; and wherever he could be induced to speak, he was met by throngs of hearers. His most important reception on this trip was at Lexington, where he spoke in the Baptist church over

[1] Debate with Maccalla, 144.
[2] Debate with Maccalla, 195.
[3] Debate with Maccalla, 234.
[4] Memoirs, II. 88.
[5] Introduction to Debate with Maccalla, 5.

which Dr. James Fishback was pastor. He was not by any means a stranger to the Baptists of the state, for very many had read his debate with Walker, and one young man, P. S. Fall, a minister of growing distinction, had read his "Sermon on the Law" as early as 1822, and at once adopted its views and preached them to the Baptists at Frankfort. Many Baptist ministers took offense at its doctrines. He persisted in his teaching and became the first Baptist preacher in Kentucky to adopt openly and advocate the teachings of Alexander Campbell.[1] Already there were incipient separations in some Baptist communities between those who held with Mr. Campbell and those who opposed his doctrine. In Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, as early as 1824, a union was formed between two congregations, one presided over by Walter Scott, who was in thorough accord with Mr. Campbell, and another presided over by Sidney Rigdon, the Regular Baptist preacher.[2] A few Baptists who refused to join this union, organized a Baptist Church which was recognized by the Association as the only legitimate Baptist church in Pittsburg.

[1] Memoirs, II. 94, 95.
[2] Memoirs, II. 99.

CHAPTER V.

"THE CHRISTIAN BAPTIST."

It was through the publication of the debate with John Walker that Campbell first discovered the power and usefulness of the press in the dissemination of his views. He thereupon determined to begin the publication of a paper. The question of a name for the paper gave him some concern. In conference with his friends, chief of whom were Walter Scott and his father, he decided to call it *The Christian Baptist* — "a title adopted not without debate," says Richardson, "since the term Baptist was a party designation. As the reformers were, however, at this time identified with the Baptists, it was thought expedient, in order to avoid offending religious prejudice and to give greater currency to the principles which were to be presented, to make this concession so far as the name of the paper was concerned, qualifying 'Baptist' by the word 'Christian.'" Here let it be observed that Mr. Campbell still regarded his relationship with the Baptists as an expediency. In the prospectus to *The Christian Baptist* he makes it clear that his position is one of independence of all religious parties. "Its sole object shall be the eviction of truth, and the exposure of error in doctrine and practice. The editor, acknowledging no standard of religious faith or works other than the Old and New Testaments, and the latter as the only standard of the religion of Jesus Christ, will, intentionally at least, oppose nothing which it contains, and recommend nothing which it does not enjoin." The dedication of the work reads as follows: "To all those without distinction, who acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be a true revelation from God, and the New Testament as containing the religion of Jesus Christ; who, willing to have all religious tenets and practices tried by the Divine Word; and who, feeling themselves in duty bound to search the Scriptures for themselves in all matters of religion, are disposed to reject all doctrine and commandments of men, and to obey the truth, holding fast the faith once delivered to the saints — this work is most respectfully and affectionately dedicated by the editor."

This was a forewarning to all denominations that their teachings and practices were to be subjected impartially, as far as he was able,

to the test of Holy Scripture.[1] He did not regard any denomination of that day as occupying "New Testament ground," not even the Baptists. The first number of *The Christian Baptist,* which was to be a monthly, appeared August 3, 1823. The Baptists regarded this new venture with grave misgiving, as they had held the editor himself in doubt. That it would meet with open opposition and hostility from them was to be expected. It was too much to expect that a strong body of people like the Baptists would meekly lay down their cherished beliefs and usages at the suggestion of any man, and accept those that were entirely new. The editor began at once in the very earliest numbers to "expose" what he regarded as the pride, worldliness and paganism of the churches. He called up for review and caricature in successive numbers, "missionary societies," "ordination of the clergy," "ministerial calls," "pew-rent system," "salaried clergy," "Bible societies," and "church associations."

It must be confessed that in all this early writing there is an exaggeration and bitterness of spirit which Mr. Campbell himself lived to regret and abandon for a milder tone.[2] His own friends warned him of the unwisdom of such immoderation.[3] His hand was against everything; and every man's hand was soon against him.[4] His spirit of iconoclasm led him to demolish very many useful and indispensable customs of organized Christianity. He opposed the existing missionary societies because he believed that they were bound up with many errors of doctrine and practice. He said in *The Christian Baptist,* Vol. III., page 59: "We have long considered the various societies called Missionary, Bible, Sunday School, and Tract Societies, as great religious engines fitted and designed for the predominance of the leading sectaries who set them a-going, and ultimately tending to a national creed, and a religious establishment." In his impatience he did not take time to separate the good from the bad. One example of the extreme to which he went was his contention that there was no New Testament example or precept for the ordination and sending out of a modern missionary. In his examination of the apostolic missionary work he found that each missionary

[1] Christian Baptist, II. 51.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 419, 432.
[3] Christian Baptist, IV. 32.
[4] Christian Baptist, VII. 140.

possessed the power of working miracles.[1] He says: "The Bible then, gives us no idea of a missionary without the power of working miracles. Miracles and missionaries are inseparably connected in the New Testament." "From these plain and obvious facts and considerations it is evident that it is a capital mistake to suppose that missionaries in heathen lands, without the power of working miracles, can succeed in establishing the Christian Religion."[2] He thought the poor success of modern missionaries bore out his contention. He still believed in sending the gospel to the heathen. His solution of the difficulty was to send entire churches, or plant little Christian communities on heathen soil, not primarily to preach but to live the gospel and exhibit a perfect model of the apostolic church. He held that the church as an institution was left on earth to take the place of inspired men endowed with miraculous gifts. Such was the strange and impracticable alternative to which he was driven by his opposition to the missionary methods of the day.

In other things he was equally extreme at this period. One of his most interesting squibs was a caricature of the report of the setting apart of a minister and his wife, by a Baptist General Convention, as missionaries to Burmah. He parallels this report with the report of the sending out of Paul and Barnabas in the thirteenth chapter of Acts, beginning: "On Wednesday the 11th of June, A. D. 44, the Rev. Saulus Paulus and the Rev. Joses Barnabas, etc." The effect of the comparison was, of course, ridiculous, but it was only superficially so. The ridiculousness was merely in the bringing together of ancient and modern forms of speech.

During the first year of the publication of *The Christian Baptist,* Mr. Campbell's arraignment of Bible societies called forth a gentle admonition from a very eminent and honored Virginia Baptist, Robert Semple. He subscribes himself "Robert Cautious." This is the beginning of that important but not always cordial relation between Campbell and the Virginia Baptists. In this letter, dated November 6, 1823, Mr. Semple cautions Mr. Campbell not to go to extremes in his opposition to error, reminding him of the danger of "running past Jerusalem, as one hastens out of Babylon."[3] The two men practically held the same views concerning the need of reformation in the prevailing church organizations.

[1] Christian Baptist, I. 199, 203.
[2] Christian Baptist, I. 53.
[3] Christian Baptist, I. 127.

In the fall of 1824 Mr. Campbell made his proposed visit to Kentucky, just one year after his former visit on the occasion of the debate with Maccalla. This was an opportunity he had long coveted for the purpose of making the acquaintance of the Baptists of Kentucky and inquiring into the state of religion there. He met many of the leading Baptist ministers for the first time, who were subsequently to occupy a conspicuous place in the preaching of "the ancient order of things." During this tour he was the guest of the Baptists in public and private.[1] He made the acquaintance of John Smith, Jacob Creath, Sr., Jacob Creath, Jr., B. W. Stone, Dr. Silas M. Noel, James Challen, and P. S. Fall.

On the trip to eastern Virginia in October, 1825, he met Robert Semple and Andrew Broaddus, both of them leading ministers of the Baptist Church in Virginia. Robert Semple heard Mr. Campbell in a discourse on his favorite views, and afterward engaged with him in a friendly discussion before a private company. Mr. Semple seems to have been deeply impressed by the character and talents of Mr. Campbell, but did not adopt his views. In a letter to him after his return from Virginia, Mr. Semple mildly criticises him for his severity and bitterness of criticism in his writing, as compared with the gentleness and graciousness of his manners in personal intercourse. The letter begins as follows: "Dear Sir — According to my promise to you (and I may say to God also) I commence a letter of correspondence with you. Your preaching among us reminded me of Apollos who displayed, as we moderns say, great talents, or as the Scriptures say, 'was an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures.' Apollos, however, with all his eloquence and might in the Scriptures, submitted to be taught the way of God more perfectly, and that, too, by a mechanic and his wife." He goes on then to say that Mr. Campbell seems to be very much like the Sandemanians and Haldanians in his views as well as in his spirit, "because," he says, "I have known some of their party who have appeared in private conversation to be mild and gentle indeed, and every way pleasant; but when brought out in writing or speaking seemed to have another kind of temper. If you will bear with me I will suggest that this seems to me to be the case with the editor of *The Christian Baptist.*"[2] He goes on to counsel him of the excellence

[1] Memoirs, II. 107-122.

[2] Christian Baptist, III. 197.

of the grace of forbearance toward those in error. Mr. Campbell, in his answer, defends his severity by the example of Jesus and the apostles who displayed "sharpness toward false teachers." Throughout all the numbers of *The Christian Baptist* he continued his criticism upon what he deemed the erroneous and unscriptural practices of all the churches, including the Baptist.

1. There came up for his castigations especially the clergy — "hireling priests," "textuary divines," "scrap doctors," as he was fond of calling them — and the theological schools which he called "priest factories."[1] He offered to prove in public debate, "that it was no part of the revealed design of the Saviour to employ clergymen, or an order of men resembling the priesthood, in the diffusion, spread, or progress of his religion in the world. In brief, that the whole Pedobaptist priesthood is an order of men unauthorized of heaven."[2] By clergy he meant the ministers of the Protestant denominations as well as the Roman church. He allowed himself to believe that they were the cause of the barren state of the church, and the general ignorance of the people concerning the Scriptures. As a body they appeared to him ignorant, self-seeking, covetous and proud. They still kept the people in a kind of bondage, as they did in mediæval times — the Protestant clergy now, as the Roman clergy then. The Protestant clergy bound the people to their teachings and in a measure exercised an authority over them.[3] There was a certain personal pique in all his fury against them, in that they were the chief obstacles in the way of his success with the people. His chief grievances against them were: their affectation of piety, in dress, speech and manners; their Calvinistic preaching; their zeal and devotion to party; their textual preaching; and their pretentions to a divine call. While his charges and insinuations were aimed at the clergy as a class, he did, however, admit certain bright exceptions among them. He was inclined to except the Baptist ministers generally. He reprobated especially the use of titles and degrees, "reverend," "bishop," "doctor,"etc.,etc.,as savoring of the pharisaic rabbinism against which Jesus protested. In order to blot out the distinction which the title "bishop" carried with it, and to show the parity of the terms "bishop" and "elder" in the

[1] Christian Baptist, I. 15, 61; II. 217; III. 115; IV. 8.
[2] Christian Baptist, III. 15.
[3] Christian Baptist, II. 143.

New Testament, he addressed all ministers in charge of local congregations as "bishops."[1] The title occurs repeatedly throughout the columns of *The Christian Baptist* in application to Baptist preachers. It meant no more than that a man was in charge of a church and a recognized minister of the gospel. He took peculiar delight in leveling up clerical titles. He was sure to speak in commendation of a preacher who refused to accept a D.D. degree when offered him. "We are sorry to observe a hankering after titles amongst some Baptists, every way incompatible with their profession." "We have not met with any Baptist bishop who is more worthy of a title of honor, if such these double D's be esteemed, than Robert B. Semple, of Virginia; and when the degree was conferred on him, he, like a Christian, declined it."[2] He printed in Vol. II., 280, of *The Christian Baptist* what he called the "Third Epistle of Peter" to the "preachers and rulers of congregations." It purported to have been written by the apostle Peter, but had been lost to the church until recently discovered by a monk, and instructed preachers to live well, wear the best clothes, be called by high-sounding titles, fleece the people, drink the most costly wines as was their due, etc., etc. It was designed to burlesque the conduct of a few, and the ambitions of a great many. It was of course exaggerated for effect. He was opposed to a minister accepting a fixed salary. He thought it savored of bargaining in holy things.

2. Next to the clergy he aimed his sarcasms and criticisms at the assumed authority of church associations. Among the Baptists they consisted of the churches of a definite territory, freely joined together for mutual edification and acquaintance, which sent messengers to a meeting once a year. In Mr. Campbell's time many of them had come to be legislative and judiciary bodies exercising discipline over individuals and churches, and adopting and imposing creeds upon the churches. The extent of this authority varied greatly in different associations. In some cases it amounted to that of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The theory of Baptist faith and tradition was that of the independence or essential autonomy of the local congregation. In certain places departure from this cherished tradition was looked upon with pain even by Baptists. Mr. Campbell did not want for encouragement from Baptists themselves in his vigorous crusade against the tyrannical authority

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 154, 242.
[2] Christian Baptist, III. 165.

of associations. He did not object to associations of churches for purposes of mutual advice, edification and comfort, but because of the general tendency of associations to become judiciary bodies, he was very doubtful of their usefulness. This feeling was extended among many churches, and was embodied in the questions sent from the Baptist church at Louisville, Kentucky, to the Association: "Is there any authority in the New Testament for religious bodies to make human creeds and confessions of faith the constitution or directories of such bodies in matters of faith or practice?" "Is there any authority in the New Testament for associations? If so, what is it? If not, why are they held?" The church at Shelbyville, Kentucky, sent the following question: "Are our associations, as usually attended, of general utility?"[1]

There is not wanting abundant evidence of the tyranny of associations. There was opportunity for the introduction of a good deal of politics or wire-pulling in associations that assumed the rôle of judicial tribunals. Whenever a party in the association desired to carry a measure, agents were sent around to the various churches composing it, before the election of messengers or delegates, to secure the election of those favorable to their measures. With a packed jury the dominant party was thus able to put through any action. They could limit or cut off debate, or exclude messengers by fixing the conditions of membership in the association. The will of the minority was set aside with exact adherence to parliamentary rules. Under Mr. Campbell's influence several associations disbanded and reorganized as yearly meetings for counsel and fellowship.[2]

3. Mr. Campbell regarded himself as especially set for the destruction of human creeds.[3] In theory the Baptist churches of that day made their final appeal to the Holy Scriptures; yet with few exceptions they each had their creed to which they required subscription as a condition of membership in the church. The "Philadelphia Confession" was widely adopted by Baptist churches and associations in the eastern and central states as a summary of true Baptist doctrine.[4] It was a mild revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith, to adapt it to Baptist usage. It was adopted by associations

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 154.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 414; Hayden, A. S., "Western Reserve," 297.
[3] Christian Baptist, V. 13.
[4] Christian Baptist, III. 91.

and made a condition of membership therein. This was notably the case in the Redstone Association of western Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Campbell was at one time a member. This association seems to have been especially creed-ridden and tyrannical. On one occasion they denied representation to no less than fourteen congregations that were members of the Association, for their failure to mention, or declare allegiance to the " Philadelphia Confession " in the letters they sent up to the meeting of the Association by the hand of their messengers.[1] This was at the meeting of 1827, to which Mr. Campbell came as a corresponding messenger from the Mahoning Association. Mr. Campbell observed that this action and similar action on the part of churches and associations were due to their creeds or rules of order and discipline, not to the example or precept of the New Testament. There was not an ill or disorder in the church, not a reproach upon religion, that he did not trace directly or indirectly to the use of creeds.[2] It was the use of creeds by the Baptists that appeared to him to be so inconsistent with their principles. His chief objection to them was their abridgment of Christian liberty. He declared that so-called " confessions of faith " were not confessions of faith, but of opinion, and bound a man or a church where they should be free.[3] His principle was that perfect freedom and liberty should be granted to all opinions. He felt that creeds were the bulwarks of clerical and ecclesiastical authority and tyranny. He saw a cunningly devised system in the religious order of things, which he regarded as a conspiracy of the evil one. A designing clergy made use of councils and associations to get their authority and pretentions embodied in articles of faith or creeds, which in turn strengthened the position of both clergy and councils. Clergy, creeds and councils were the links in the chain that bound the common people. What a splendid and effective scheme! The people were the innocent creators and victims of their own system.[4]

The entire round of Christian faith and practice, not only among Baptist churches, but all the churches, was brought into comparison with apostolic faith and practice. He attempted in the pages of *The Christian Baptist* a complete exposition of what he regarded as the

[1] Christian Baptist, IV. 55; II. 63.
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 16.
[3] Christian Baptist, III. 154.
[4] Christian Baptist, I. 91; II. 1-5

apostolic faith and practice, under the title, "The Ancient Order of Things." This became a favorite phrase, a kind of shibboleth or watch-word, for those who shared his views. It was inevitable that sooner or later his course would give rise to a party within the Baptist churches, to which should be applied a distinguishing name. This came to pass in 1826 when "some religious editors in Kentucky" began to "call those who were desirous of seeing the ancient order of things restored," "The Restorationers," or "Campbellites," "and the most reproachful epithets were showered upon them."[1] Evidences of the presence of this element in Baptist churches are to be found in all the correspondence of this period. They were easily marked by their incessant talk about the authority of the New Testament and the restoration of the ancient order of things. Everybody knew where that battle-cry originated. Where whole churches had been changed, they were distinguished from other Baptist churches by this talk of reformation; a desire to measure everything by the New Testament standard; by their opposition to creeds, the authority of the clergy and associations; and by the adoption of the weekly and open communion of the Lord's supper.[2]

All these changes did not take place without opposition from Regular Baptists. One man wrote in 1825: "I request you to send me *The Christian Baptist* no more. My conscience is wounded that I should have subscribed for such a work. It is a religious incendiary and will do a world of mischief." Another wrote: "Your paper is, I fear, a disorganizer and I doubt not it will prove deistical in the end." The theological students of Hamilton Seminary, New York, sent in a request for copies of *The Christian Baptist* to be placed in the reading rooms of the "Philomathesian Society."[3] Mr. Campbell continued to send it regularly. After a short period he received a request to discontinue in the following mildly worded but suggestive sentence: "For reasons which we are willing frankly to avow, our society has recently come to the resolution to ask you to discontinue your publication." A minority of the students did not concur in this request, and sent a message of regret to Mr. Campbell. Spencer Clack, writing from Kentucky, bears witness to the discord and division in various churches on account of Mr. Camp-

[1] Christian Baptist, IV. 96; V. 94, 262.
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 210; III. 286.
[3] Christian Baptist, IV. 84.

bell's teaching. He says: "Some are for you, others against you; some approve, others censure and condemn; such is the state of affairs; such the effect produced by your writing. But let me ask what is the great good which such divisions will achieve?"[1]

Alexander Campbell was made the subject of many a public warning from the pulpit, many a set of resolutions by Baptist associations, and many an editorial in Baptist papers.[2] One church in Kentucky sent the following query to the Association: "What must a church do with her preacher who has embraced Campbellism?"[3] An amusing incident occurred in Virginia. A company of persons had been baptized by a Baptist minister in what was called the new way; that is, instead of saying "I baptize thee in the name," etc., the preacher said, "I immerse thee," etc. This was looked upon as disorderly by the Regular Baptist churches, so that they refused to admit such persons into their churches on such baptism, and insisted on a rebaptism. A colored man had been one thus baptized. He desired to unite with a congregation and was accordingly rebaptized. As he was coming out of the water he exclaimed: "I ain't no Campbellite now."[4] Baptist newspapers were enlisted against the innovations, especially *The Pittsburg Recorder, The Western Luminary, The Baptist Recorder of* Kentucky, and *The Columbian Star* of Philadelphia. In *The Baptist Recorder* of 1828 Robert Semple declared: "*The Christian Baptist* has doubtless exhibited many valuable pieces and principles; but, taken as a whole, I am persuaded it has been more mischievous than any publication I have ever known. The ability of the editor, joined to the plausibility of his plans or doctrines, has succeeded in sowing the seeds of discord among brethren to an extent in many places alarming."[5] The paper was circulated widely among Baptists, and it may be truly said that it was read chiefly by them. Responding to a statement by the editor of *The Baptist Recorder* in 1828, "We are of opinion that Campbell has lost 100 per cent in Kentucky or more within a year," Mr. Campbell says: "The fact is that *The Christian*

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 12, 82.
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 206.
[3] Christian Baptist, V. 262.
[4] Christian Baptist, VII. 79.
[5] Christian Baptist, VII. 59, 152, 174, 214, 217; V. 11, 260; III. 257.
[6] Christian Baptist, V. 199.

Baptist is more generally read and has more subscribers this year in Kentucky than it has ever had before. In Virginia, too, where it is represented as declining fast, it has gained in the last two years more than 100 per cent per annum. And for the last three months our regular increase has been about seventy new subscribers per month."[1]

The opposition to Mr. Campbell did not stop with the refutation of his teaching. As in all such controversies, the personal element was introduced. His character was called in question and ugly rumors were set afloat concerning his honesty. Besides undermining his character by calling him "a Unitarian," "a Socinian," "an Antinomian," "a Pelagian," and "a Deist," in the communities of that period it was little worse to circulate the report that he "stole a horse," was "excommunicated for drunkenness," "married his first wife's sister," etc., etc.[2] One man's indignation at his impiety for daring to publish a new translation of the Scriptures was so great that after reading "Campbell's Bible," as it was called, he solemnly committed it to the flames.[3]

Such was the status of affairs between Mr. Campbell and the Baptists about the year 1829, when he announced the termination of *The Christian Baptist* with that volume.[4] In its place he proposed to publish a paper, just double its size, to be called *The Millennial Harbinger,* devoted to the advocacy of the same principles. His relations with the Baptists were growing more strained and less cordial, and he was now fairly regarded as the leader of a people or party unmistakably distinct from the Baptists, with its own churches, associations, and publications. The possibility of any further influence among the Baptists was growing less and less, so that there was no longer anything to be gained by the longer retention of a denominational name for his paper.[5]

Through *The Christian Baptist* Mr. Campbell reached thousands in the remotest parts of the United States and the British Isles. There was continually springing up through correspondence the report of men here and there who had become his followers; they became

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 111; III. 232.
[2] Christian Baptist, III. 158, 159; VI. Appendix.
[3] Christian Baptist, IV. 208.
[4] Christian Baptist, VII. 62.
[5] Christian Baptist, V. 199.

new centers for the further extension of his influence. Thus before he realized it, wherever the English language was read or spoken, there was an innumerable company standing on his platform of religious reformation. The seed had been sown through the pages of *The Christian Baptist,* and by the time of its discontinuance in 1830, within a period of seven years, he and his fellow-reformers were a power to be reckoned with in the Western World.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STATUS OF CAMPBELL'S FELLOWSHIP WITH THE BAPTISTS.

Alexander Campbell's standing among Baptists had been in doubt from the moment of his union with them. He made no secret of his disagreement with many Baptist opinions and practices. He hoped to be able, however, to lead them as a people upon "higher ground," as he termed it. He did not reckon sufficiently with the intensity of their convictions or the firmness of their persuasion that they were nearer right than any other people.

There were Baptists who never extended to him the hand of fellowship. They regarded him as a religious innovator and adventurer, without responsibility or conscience, who had no other purpose than to build up a new sect upon the ruins of the Baptist denomination. Charges of inconsistency and dishonesty were freely lodged against him, for occupying what was thought to be an equivocal position, namely, maintaining outward fellowship with a body of people with whom he was not in full agreement. He wrote in *The Christian Baptist,* January 17, 1826, in reply to a correspondent: "And, as you know, I have no faith in the Divine right of associations; yet to shield me from such far-off and underhand attacks, as well as other important purposes, that I may be under the inspection and subject to merited reprehension, I and the church with which I am connected are in 'full communion' with the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio; and through them with the whole Baptist society in the United States; and I do intend to continue in connection with this people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe, to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views and practices. I have no idea of adding to the catalogue of new sects. This game has been played too long. I labor to see sectarianism abolished, and all Christians of every name united upon the one foundation upon which the apostolic church was founded. To bring Baptists and Pedobaptists to this is my supreme aim. But to connect myself with any people who would require me to sacrifice one item of revealed truth, to subscribe any creed of human device, or restrain me from publishing my sentiments as dis-

cretion and conscience direct, is now, and I hope ever shall be, the farthest from my desires, the most incompatible with my views. And I hope I will not be accused of sectarian partiality when I avow my conviction that the Baptist society have as much liberality in their views, as much of the ancient simplicity of the Christian religion, as much of the spirit of Christianity amongst them, as is to be found amongst any other people. To say nothing of the things in which they excel, this may be said of them without prejudice to any. And that they have always been as eminent friends of civil and religious liberty as any sect in Christendom, will not, I presume, be denied by any. . . . . And that there is in the views and practices of this large and widely extended community, as great need of reformation, and of a restoration of the ancient order of things, few will contradict. In one thing, perhaps, they may appear in time to come, proudly singular, and pre-eminently distinguished. Mark it well. Their historian in the year 1900 may say, 'We are the only people who would tolerate, or who ever did tolerate, any person to continue as a refromer or restorer amongst us.'"[1]

This is an exceedingly frank and fair statement of his attitude toward the Baptists, and his appreciation of them. What he acknowledges was probably true, that there was no other denomination that would have tolerated a reformer in the midst of it. This was doubtless due to several conditions. First of all, the want of a central authority in the Baptist denomination prevented a concerted action against him. Individuals, churches, and associations had disavowed his fellowship and teachings. A General Assembly, as of the Presbyterian Church, could have dealt with him. The Roman Catholic Church would have had no difficulty in disposing of him. In the second place, the Baptists themselves were divided with reference to him. He had many strong and influential supporters among both the ministry and laity. In the third place, he was a Baptist in the things that were essential to Baptist fellowship. The points of disagreement between him and the Baptists were in dispute among Baptists themselves. Spencer Clack, a Baptist editor, wrote to him in 1827: "Observe, between you and your Baptist brethren there is no difference of opinion as to rule of faith and practice. On this subject we all speak the same language; we all acknowledge the same authority; all profess to be governed by it. What, then, is

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 160.

the difference between us? Simply this: we can not agree as to what the Bible teaches. The Baptists think the Bible teaches the doctrine contained in their creeds; you think it teaches what you have written and published, and what you will hereafter write and publish."[1] The appeal of both parties to the controversy was to the Scriptures. The difference was largely one of interpretation. So it is still. The difference otherwise lay in the degree of thoroughness with which the Protestant principle of the authority of Scripture was applied. The underlying presupposition in the mind of Mr. Campbell was that the New Testament contains a perfect and complete model of the Christian institution in its faith, life, ordinances, government and discipline. He took the appeal to the precept and precedent of Holy Scripture with an exact and faithful literalness, requiring a "Thus saith the Lord" for every item of faith or practice in the church. Nothing seemed to him to be left to the sanctified common sense of the church in after ages by Christ and his apostles. Nothing could be taken from or added to the things once for all delivered to the saints, without declaring in so many words that the Scriptures were insufficient as a rule of faith and practice. It was his conviction that every future need and exigency of the church on earth had been foreseen and provided for by Christ and his apostles.

When Robert Semple, in a letter to Mr. Campbell in 1826, says, "In short, your views (concerning creeds, confessions, ministerial support, the Old Testament, missionary and Bible societies) are generally so contrary to those of the Baptists in general, that if a party was to go fully into the practice of your principles, I should say a new sect had sprung up, radically different from the Baptists, as they now are,"[2] Mr. Campbell replied: "Would not a congregation of saints, built exactly upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blamelessly, appear like a new sect arising amongst the Baptists, or any other sect in this country?" "Are the Baptists generally now following in the steps of the primitive church — are they up to the model of the New Testament? Upon the answer given to this query, your last remark conveys praise or blame. If they are in the millennial state, or in the primitive state of the church,

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 13.
[2] Christian Baptist, III. 200.

then everything that would change their order and practice is to be reprobated and discountenanced by every Christian. But if not, every well meant effort to bring them up to that state, as far as Scripture and reason approbate, ought to be countenanced, aided and abetted by every one that loves the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

A correspondent signing himself, "An Independent Baptist," replying to the statement that he was "in full communion with the Baptist Church," says: "Now, sir, I have no doubt but you feel honestly about this 'full communion with the whole Baptist society,' but in fact and in effect, it is a white lie; an equivoque, a time-serving expedient, and tends to shake the confidence of those who love you, as to the downright sincerity of the Christian Baptist."[1] Refuting the insinuation that he was not consistent, Mr. Campbell says: "But what constitutes consistency? In acting conformably to our own professed sentiments and principles; or in acting conformably to the professed sentiments and principles of others?" "To come to the point at once, what are the principles of union and communion advocated in this work? Has not the one foundation which the apostles affirmed was already laid, and besides which no other can be laid which will stand the test of time and critics, which is the only one on which all Christians can unite and have 'full communion,' and against which the gates of Hades shall not prevail; I say, has not this been the only bond of union which the Christian Baptist ever advocated? And what is that but a sincere and hearty conviction, expressed or confessed by the lips, that Jesus is the Christ; and this belief, exhibited by an overt act of obedience which implies that the subject has put on the Christ, prepares him, or qualifies him, if you please, to be saluted a brother, so long as he confesses with his lips that he believes in his heart this truth and lives conformably to it and supports an unblemished moral character, so long he is a worthy brother."

He was in this, of course, defining communion from his own point of view, not that of the Baptists. On his part he could maintain communion with the Baptists and yet differ in many things from them. His principle was, that "unity of opinion is not essential to Christian union."[2] From his point of view, then, he was in full com-

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 221, 224; I. 221.

[2] Christian Baptist, III. 226.

munion with the Baptists, for they believed that "Jesus is the Christ" and lived conformably to that profession. He seems to appreciate the fact that fellowship between two parties depends upon the consent of both. He says: "Here, once for all, it must be noted that my having communion with any society, Baptist or Pedobaptist, depends just as much upon them as upon myself. Some Baptist congregations would not receive me into their communion, and if any Pedobaptist society would, it is time enough to show that I am inconsistent with my own principles when any evangelical sect or congregation shall have welcomed me to their communion and I have refused it." He refused to construe communion with a religious body to imply, as one of his correspondents insisted, "an entire approbation of all their views, doctrine and practice, as a society or individuals."

In this discussion of the terms of communion Mr. Campbell raised a very important but perplexing question — one that is still exercising the thought and sometimes disturbing the peace of churches — How much ought the church to require in the faith of a person as a condition of membership? Or rather, How little can the church accept as sufficient for Christian fellowship? Mr. Campbell's answer was: The least that a church can require is what the New Testament reports Christ and the apostles to have required. To require more is to make the terms harder and to debar some. The terms of fellowship insisted upon by some denominations presuppose a very high degree of intellectual attainment in the person of the convert. Other denominations, that make provision for infant membership, presuppose absolutely none. Alexander Campbell held consistently to the position of his father as set forth in the Declaration and Address: "That although dectrinal exhibitions of the great systems of Divine truths, and defensive testimonies in opposition to prevailing errors be highly expedient, and the more full and explicit they be for these purposes the better: yet as these must be in a great measure the effect of human reasoning, and of course must contain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made terms of Christian communion." "That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all divinely revealed truths in order to entitle them to a place in the church: neither should they for this purpose be required to make a profession more extensive than their knowledge; but that on the contrary, their

having a due measure of Scripture self-knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Christ, accompanied with a profession of their faith in and obedience to him in all things according to his word is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his church."

The practice of the Baptists was uniform in requiring of the candidate for admission to the church a confession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, repentance toward God, and immersion in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Besides these, they required an examination before a committee, the relation of an experience acceptable to the church, and in most instances subscription to the Philadelphia Confession or some other formula of faith. The thing to which Mr. Campbell objected was the requirement of things not required by the New Testament.

In connection with this subject he was called upon to express his view as to the Christian status of those who had not been immersed; in other words, of the Pedobaptist communities of Christians. He does not seem to have shared the views of the Baptists on this subject at this time. He did not go with the Baptists in the exclusion of the Pedobaptists from the Lord's supper.[1] Whether he would have received them into full church fellowship is not clear. He says: "I frankly own that my full conviction is that there are many Pedobaptist congregations, of whose Christianity I think as highly as of most Baptist congregations, and with whom I could wish to be on the very same terms of Christian communion on which I stand with the whole Baptist society." "I have thought and thought and vacillated very much on the question whether Baptists and Pedobaptists ought, could, would, or should, irrespective of their peculiarities, sit down at the same Lord's table. And one thing I do know that either they should cease to have communion in prayer, praise, and other religious observances or they should go the whole length. Of this point I am certain. And I do know that as much can be said and with as much reason and scripture on its side to prove that immersion is as necessary prior to social prayer, praise, etc., as it is to eating the Lord's supper." "Dear sir, this plan of making our own nest and fluttering over our own brood; of building our own tent, and of confining all goodness and grace to our

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 211.

noble selves, and the 'elect few' who are like us, is the quintessence of sublimated pharisaism." He declared "that all sectarianism is the offspring of Hell," "and that where there is a new creature, or a society of them, with all their imperfections, and frailties and errors in sentiments, in views and opinions, they ought to receive one another, and the strong to support the infirmities of the weak and not to please themselves."[1] His critic replied: "Your very charitable recognition of Pedobaptists, etc., as brethren serves to neutralize the distinction between truth and error — between allegiance and rebellion. As for the societies of sprinkled 'new creatures,' with whom you could wish (if they would let you) to have full communion, equal to what you have with the whole Baptist society, they resemble what a synagogue of the Jews would be who rejected circumcision." Mr. Campbell replied: "And here permit me to remark that you have taken for granted what has not been asserted yet; that Baptists and Pedobaptists should, irrespective of their differences on the subject of baptism, break bread together. Whether they ought, or ought not, has not been asserted by me. This question is yet with me *sub judice.*" "But there is no rejection of the ordinance of baptism by sprinkled creatures; but a mistake of what it is." He regarded the practice of sprinkling as an unintentional mistake, which deserved pardon, because it was in the way of obedience.

A little later, in 1827, the question of the unimmersed came up again, through the report in a letter from a reforming church in Edinburgh, to the effect that they received unimmersed persons into their fellowship, yet at the same time practiced only immersion.[2] Commenting upon this practice, he says: "On the Scripture propriety of receiving unnaturalized or unimmersed persons into the kingdom into which the Saviour said none can enter but by being born of water and of the Spirit, little can be said either from precept or example. For it is exceedingly plain that from the day on which Peter opened the reign of the Messiah, on the ever-memorable Pentecost, no man entered the realm but by being born of water." "As yet there was no breach in the walls, no scaling ladders, no battering rams, to find an easier way." "But the question of the greatest difficulty to decide is whether there should be any laws or rules, adopted by the churches, relating to the practice of receiving per-

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 228.

[2] Christian Baptist, V. 102.

sons unimmersed in the assemblies of the saints. Whether on the ground of forbearance, as it is called, such persons as have been once sprinkled, or not at all, but who are satisfied with their sprinkling, or without any, are, on their solicitation to be received into any particular congregation, and to be treated in all respects as they who have, by their own voluntary act and deed, been naturalized and constitutionally admitted into the kingdom." "To make a law that such should be received, appears to me after long and close deliberation, a usurpation of the legislative authority vested in the Holy Apostles and of dangerous tendency in the administration of the reign of heaven." "Now, although I could feel myself at perfect liberty, in full accordance with the requirements of the great King, to receive into the most cordial fellowship every one whom I have reason to recognize as a disciple of Jesus Christ, with all his weaknesses, as I would call them; yet I could not and dare not say to all members of a Christian congregation that they must do so too."[1]

The question as to whether the Baptists and Pedobaptists, irrespective of their differences, should break bread together, which he declared to be under consideration with him in 1826, has been gradually settled by 1829, and he is ready to affirm: "I object to making it a rule, in any case, to receive unimmersed persons to church ordinances: 1st. Because it is nowhere commanded. 2d. Because it is nowhere precedented in the New Testament. 3d. Because it necessarily corrupts the simplicity and uniformity of the whole genius of the New Institution. 4th. Because it not only deranges the order of the kingdom, but makes void one of the most important institutions ever given to man. It necessarily makes immersion of non-effect. For with what consistency or propriety can a congregation hold up to the world either the authority or utility of an institution which they are in the habit of making as little of as any human opinion? 5th. Because, in making a canon to dispense with a divine institution of momentous import, they who do so assume the very same dispensing power which issued in that tremendous apostasy which we and all Christians are praying and laboring to destroy. If a Christian community put into its magna charta, covenant, or constitution an assumption to dispense with an institution of the great King, who can tell where this power of granting license to itself may terminate?"[2]

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 276.
[2] Christian Baptist, VI. 183.

In these words he defends essentially the Baptist position of close communion. Up to this time he has vacillated, as he says, on the question whether to go the whole length of admitting the unimmersed to all the acts of social worship and the privileges of Christian fellowship as consistency and Christian charity would dictate, or to enforce a strict conformity to the precepts and precedents of the New Testament.[1]

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 286; Cf. Williams's "Life of John Smith," 445, 467.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SPREAD OF THE "ANCIENT ORDER OF THINGS" AMONG THE BAPTISTS.

From the very beginning of his advocacy of reformation Mr. Campbell's efforts were attended with success. In the early days through his speaking and later through the columns of the Christian Baptist and the publication of his debates, there were individuals here and there, especially among the Baptists, who came over to his views. Among his converts were numbered many representative men. One of the first to join "the reformation" was Walter Scott, who shares with the Campbells the credit for very important religious discoveries.[1] He was a Scotchman; had been educated at Edinburgh University and was brought up as a Presbyterian; came to America in 1818, and settled at Pittsburg. Here he came into contact with a fellow-countryman by the name of Forrester, whose "peculiarity consisted in making the Bible his only authority and guide in matters of religion."[2] Under the guidance of this man, Scott made rapid progress in his study of the Bible and soon came to hold the same views with Mr. Forrester. One of his first discoveries was that there was no authority in Scripture for infant baptism, and that immersion was the apostolic form. He was accordingly immersed by Mr. Forrester, who, aside from his labors as principal of an academy, had gathered together a small body of baptized believers in Pittsburg and became their minister. All these changes in his religious views had taken place before he met Alexander Campbell in the winter of 1822. Scott proved one of the most powerful and eloquent advocates of the new reformation. He was by pre-eminence the evangelist of the new movement.

In Ohio the very earliest converts to the new idea from the Baptist ministry were Adamson Bentley and Sidney Rigdon.[3] Bentley was instrumental in the organization of the Mahoning Association in 1821. He first became acquainted with the views of Mr. Campbell through reading the debate with John Walker; and later made his personal acquaintance on a visit to his home in 1821. He became

[1] Baxter, "Life of Walter Scott," 30.
[2] Baxter, "Life of Walter Scott," 37.
[3] Hayden, "Western Reserve," 102; Memoirs, II. 43.

pastor of the Baptist Church at Warren, Ohio, in 1811. Bentley continued to the end of his life a co-laborer with Mr. Campbell, and gave his entire influence to the extension of the "ancient order of things." Sidney Rigdon was received into the Baptist Church at Warren by Bentley in 1820, and was licensed to preach the same year. He was a man of extraordinary native eloquence, and soon made his name well known. Along with Bentley he gave himself to the new ideas until 1830, when he fell away to Mormonism. By these men, in co-operation with Walter Scott, the majority of the Baptist churches of the Western Reserve were permeated with the new teaching. These churches received the frequent personal ministrations of both Thomas and Alexander Campbell. Hayden, in his *History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve,* page 92, says that an entire family of brothers, three in number, by the name of Rigdon, adopted the views of Mr. Campbell and faithfully defended them on the Reserve. Jacob Osborne became a Baptist preacher and entered the seminary of Mr. Campbell.[1] Marcus Bosworth, a Baptist preacher, was greatly influenced and helped on his way to the position of Mr. Campbell by Osborne.[2] Other preachers of influence among the Baptists who were carried over were William Hayden, John Applegate, O. Newcomb, and William Moody.[3] One thousand persons were reported as converted by these preachers on the Reserve in the year 1829-30.

In Kentucky one of the first Baptist ministers to be won to the position of Mr. Campbell was P. S. Fall.[4] The Sermon on the Law fell into his hands in 1822, while he was pastor of a Baptist church in Louisville. He went from there to Frankfort, and spent the last years of his active service in Nashville, Tenn. John Smith ("Raccoon," as he was called), was another Baptist preacher of Kentucky who adopted the views of Mr. Campbell in the early period.[5] He had been brought up according to the strict Baptist Calvinism of the South. He was not entirely satisfied with it, and had gradually been working his way into opposition to it, when in 1823-4 *The Christian Baptist* fell into his hands. On Mr. Campbell's visit to Kentucky in 1824 Smith went to hear him at Flemingsburg.

[1] Hayden, 140.
[2] Hayden, 136.
[3] Hayden, 177, 276, 366, 430.
[4] Memoirs, II. 94, 95, 122.
[5] Memoirs, II. 107.

He was in a state of uncertainty as to what to think of Mr. Campbell. Some of his Baptist friends favored him, others opposed him. In this state of suspense he went to hear him. He relates the incident later in life. On coming into town he met William Vaughan, who knew and was favorably disposed toward the views of Campbell. "Well," said I to Elder Vaughan, "what are his views on doctrinal points? Is he a Calvinist or Armenian, an Arian or Trinitarian?' His answer was: 'I do not know; he has nothing to do with any of these things.' I asked again; 'But do you think he knows anything about heartfelt religion?' 'God bless you, Brother John,' said he, 'he is one of the most pious godly men I was ever in company with in my life.' 'But do you think he knows anything about a Christian experience?' 'Why, Lord bless you! he knows everything. Come, I want to introduce you to him.'" After the sermon he said to Campbell, "Religiously speaking, I am suspicious of you, and having an unfavorable opinion of you, I am willing to give the reasons why." Smith accompanied Campbell to his next appointment and asked him to relate his experience. "After hearing his experience," said Smith, "I would cheerfully have given him the hand of fellowship." It was not until a year of careful study of the Scriptures after this incident that he began the advocacy of the "Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice." He became very active in the work of a general evangelist, going from place to place baptizing scores of people "into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." Jeremiah Vardeman, the most popular Baptist preacher in Kentucky, who had been one of the moderators of the Maccalla debate, and had been an outspoken friend of Campbell from the beginning, gave his influence to the new ideas for several years. He drew back, however, when he saw the beginning of divisions in churches and associations.[1] Other Baptist preachers of Kentucky who were profoundly and permanently influenced by Campbell were Jacob Creath, Sr., Jacob Creath, Jr., and James Challen, all of whom gave themselves to the promotion of "the ancient order of things." Both of the Creaths and John Smith were excluded from the Elkhorn Association, together with several congregations in 1830, for "apostasy to Campbellism."[2]

John T. Johnson was a lawyer living at Georgetown, Kentucky. He became a member of the Baptist Church in 1821. He says: "Dur-

[1] Christian Baptist, VI. 47; Memoirs, II, 72.
[2] Memoirs, II. 324; II. 119.

ing the years 1829-30 the public mind was much excited in regard to what was vulgarly called 'Campbellism,' and I resolved to examine it in the light of the Bible. I was won over; my eyes were opened, and the debt of gratitude I owe to that man of God, Alexander Campbell, no language can tell." He gave up his law practice in order to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. He became a man of great influence.[1]

In Virginia no preachers of note were won to the "reformation," but many people, sometimes including entire churches, changed their customs to harmonize with what they were led to believe a more scriptural practice. Preachers of lesser influence in Virginia and in many other states adopted the principles of Campbell.[2] A correspondent writing to Campbell in 1827-28, says: "One of your most bigoted opposers said not long since in a public assembly that in traveling 2,500 miles circuitously, he found only four Regular Baptist preachers whom you had not corrupted." Such a statement may mean much or little, depending upon the number of Baptist preachers he saw during those journeys. It is a highly striking way of saying that "Campbellism" was making serious inroads upon the Baptist ministry, sufficient indeed to be the cause of alarm. Robert Semple, writing to Dr. Noel in September, 1827, says: "I know but one preacher in Virginia who has pinned his faith to Campbell's sleeve, and he has become very troublesome to us."[3] This can scarcely be taken as a correct or fair statement of the case, for it is not sufficient to account for the feeling of alarm and hostility displayed in the very letter itself. If but one preacher had been "tainted" no notice would have been taken of it. The truth lies somewhere between these two extreme statements.

In the meantime, of course, many individuals among the laity were coming under the influence of Mr. Campbell's teaching. From individuals it was not long in extending to entire congregations of Baptists. The first entire church to adopt the teaching and embody the "ancient order of things" in its faith and practice was the Brush Run church, which was made up of members of the various denominations, and was brought over into fellowship with Baptist churches at the time of the union. The second church constituted on the new order under Mr. Campbell's influence was at Wellsburg and

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 179; Rogers, "Biography of J. T. Johnson."
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 94.
[3] Christian Baptist, V. 244.

the third at Pittsburg.[1] None of these churches were previously Baptist, though Baptists were found in them. The church at Wellsburg had been formed by the removal thither of Mr. Campbell's father-in-law. Most of the members forming that church came out of the Brush Run church.[2] The church at Pittsburg arose out of a union, in 1824, of Mr. Forrester's congregation in charge of Walter Scott, and the Baptist church presided over by Sidney Rigdon. It was different, however, with the church at Louisville ministered to by P. S. Fall. This church was more purely Baptist. The transition in these churches was usually marked by the formal adoption of the Bible as a sufficient rule of faith and practice; the discarding of the local creed and constitution of the church; the weekly communion of the Lord's supper; the baptism of a person upon the confession of his faith in Christ, without an examination by the elders or a vote of either the officers or the congregation. This is clear from the circular letter sent up to the Long Run Association of Kentucky by the Louisville church written by its pastor, P. S. Fall, September, 1825. This letter was rejected by the Association, the moderator casting the decisive vote. The letter reads in part as follows: "It is not unfrequently said by word of mouth, as well as in creeds, that the word of God is the *only* and the sufficient and perfect rule of faith and practice. While this is admitted in word by all religious denominations, it is to be feared that but few feel the force or understand the import of their own declaration. Let them but critically examine every part of this sentence, and, while it appears in direct accordance with the word itself, it is in complete violation of the practice of almost all; for if the declaration be true that the word of God is the only, sufficient and perfect rule in all things pertaining to belief or conduct, why are creeds, confessions and human formulas of doctrine, practice, government and experience established as the exclusive tests of all, to the manifest deterioration of the Bible, while churches rest contented with the bare declaration of its sufficiency."[3]

The church at Elk Creek sent up a query as to the New Testament authority for creeds and associations, showing that the leaven of the new teaching was working there. The same Association entertained a similar query from the church at Shelbyville. As showing the

[1] Memoirs, II. 125.
[2] Memoirs, I. 459.
[3] Christian Baptist, III. 151, 232.

widespread workings of the new ideas among the Baptists of Kentucky as early as 1824, at a meeting of the "Baptist Missionary Association of Kentucky," it was proposed "to have a meeting of all the Baptist preachers who can attend for the purpose of a general conference on the state of religion and on the subject of reform. All the ministers of the gospel in the Baptist denomination favorable to these objects are invited to attend, and, in the spirit of Christian love, by mutual counsel, influence and exertion according to the gospel, to aid in advancing the cause of piety in our state." Embodied as a part of the call was the declaration: "It is obvious to the most superficial observer, who is at all acquainted with the state of Christianity and of the church of the New Testament, that much, very much, is wanting, to bring the Christianity of the church of the present day up to that standard."[1]

Throughout Kentucky such men as Vardeman, William Morton, John Smith, John Secrest and W. Warder went about baptizing persons after the new order of things. The following extracts are from the correspondence published in *The Christian Baptist*.[2] "Bishop Jeremiah Vardeman, of Kentucky, since the first of November last, till the first of May (1827-28), immersed about 550 persons." "Bishop John Smith, of Montgomery, Kentucky, from the first Lord's Day in February to the 20th of April immersed 339." "Bishops Scott, Rigdon and Bentley, in Ohio, within the last six months have immersed about 800 persons." "Within a few months about 300 have been immersed into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, on a profession of their faith that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God. Great additions have been also made to other congregations in the same vicinity." "From the 2d of March to the 22d of June, a period of three months, Bishop John Secrest immersed 222 persons, about an equal number of males and females." "A correspondent in Lincoln County, Kentucky, informs me in a letter dated the 8th ult. (Oct., 1828) that between 300 and 400 persons had been immersed in that and the adjoining counties within a few months before that time under the labors of Brethren Polson, Anderson, Sterman and others. Another informs me that Bishop G. G. Boon since last fall immersed about 350, and Bishop William Morton 300 at least. Bishop Jacob Creath has immersed a great many." "Bishop John Smith, of Montgomery County, Kentucky, has im-

[1] Christian Baptist, II. 152; III. 154.
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 47; V. 263.

mersed since the 20th of April till the third Lord's Day in July, 294 persons. Thus in a little more than five months Brother Smith has immersed 603 persons 'into the Lord Jesus for the remission of sins.'"[1]

It was the baptism of a person "for the remission of sins" that distinguished the baptisms of these reforming preachers from ordinary Baptist baptisms. All of these men were still members of the Baptist church, and the persons immersed by them took membership in Baptist churches. They were a little company within the Baptist society, growing ever more numerous and distinct until the period of separation.[2] At the close of *The Christian Baptist* of 1825, Campbell observes: "Several Baptist congregations in the western part of Pennsylvania and in the state of Ohio have voted the 'Philadelphia Confession' of faith out of doors"[3]— unmistakable evidence of the influence of the new ideas. The Baptist church of Nelson, Ohio, at a meeting held August 24, 1824, voted "to remove the Philadelphia Confession of faith and the church articles and to take the word of God for our rule of faith and practice."[4] This action led to a division of the church. The reforming portion of the church did not form a new organization until January 27, 1827, consisting of nine members.

Walter Scott was appointed a general evangelist by the Mahoning Association at its meeting at New Lisbon in 1827, to go among the Baptist churches holding meetings, and to establish new churches. Scott went everywhere among the churches on the Western Reserve teaching them his new ideas. He began his evangelistic ministry at New Lisbon in the Baptist meeting-house. Seventeen persons were baptized. Subsequently he visited the churches at Warren and Austintown, and completely transformed them into "reforming churches." Through his influence and that of other preachers the Baptist churches at Salem, Canfield, Newton Falls, Braceville, Windham, Hubbard, Bazetta, Randolph, Birmingham and Southington were won over to "the ancient order of things" between the years 1827-1830. Besides these there were other churches of less importance influenced and many new churches established. The proceedings of the church at Salem is characteristic of many more. Scott

[1] Christian Baptist, VI. 47; Life of Smith, 250; Christian Baptist, V. 208.
[2] Life of J. Smith, 216.
[3] Christian Baptist, II. 288.
[4] Hayden, 22, 237.

began work there in April, 1828. "In ten days he baptized forty souls." "The leading Baptists were delighted." "The converts were received to baptism on the confession of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, without the usual routine of telling an experience and a vote of the church." So successful did his work seem to him that he exclaimed: "Who will now say there is a Baptist church in Salem?" "This gave the alarm. Some of the old leaders thought he was building up the Baptist church," until this announcement was made. A reaction set in; a meeting was called and all those who had been received into the church without relating an experience were summoned to appear to be received in the regular Baptist way. They refused to come and scattered among the various churches of the region. Out of this grew a church of Reformers three miles south of Salem.[1]

The Baptist church at Windham "was constituted a church of Christ" by Thomas Campbell and Marcus Bosworth May 27, 1828, with the usual rejection of creeds and confessions and an appeal to the "New Testament as a perfect rule, directory and formula for the faith, discipline and government of the church." This church did not begin the weekly breaking of bread until March 22, 1829, nearly a year later. The "old order" was but slowly supplanted by the new. "A wise forbearance ruled the church, and they eventually all came to the unity of the faith and practice of the apostolic order." Concerning the progress of the new views, William Hayden wrote to Mr. Campbell, May, 1830: "The word of God has great success with us. The churches are growing in knowledge, spirituality and numbers. New churches are rising up in very many towns on the Reserve, where we are laboring."

The period of greatest defection from Baptist churches to the ranks of the Reformers was from 1825-1830. During this period the preachers of the ancient order were easily introduced into Baptist churches without any suspicion of their hostility to Baptist usages. After 1830 they were better known and were marked for avoidance by Baptists generally. In many out-of-the-way places even later these preachers obtained entrance into Baptist churches.

The regions chiefly touched by the teaching of Mr. Campbell were Kentucky, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee and Virginia.[2] There is record of churches adopting his views as early as

[1] Hayden, 73, 100, 127, etc.; Christian Baptist, V. 275; VII. 272.

[2] Memoirs, II. 168.

this in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; indeed in all the states adjacent to the regions of the first successes of the movement.[1] Benedict, the Baptist historian, says (page 801), concerning the First Baptist church of Nashville: "It increased to between three and four hundred members, when the Campbellites or Reformers succeeded in making proselytes to their views of nearly the whole of this great and growing interest. The pastor and people, with their chapel, of course, all were brought under the influence of the Reformers."[2]

It ought to be observed that accessions to the ranks of the Reformers did not take place alone from the Baptists during this period. All the denominations contributed to the swelling of their ranks. A Methodist, Universalist, and Presbyterian, not to omit an instance of one Episcopal rector and one Lutheran preacher, joined their ranks."[3] The entire Methodist church at Deerfield, Ohio, adopted the "ancient order of things."[4] It would be natural to look for some coalescence between the "Reformers" and the "Christians," or "Stoneites," or "New Lights," as they were called, on account of the similarity of their teaching. This was true in Ohio and Kentucky. Some of the most useful men in the proclamation of the new order of things came from these followers of B. W. Stone. In Ohio Joseph Gaston, John Whitacre and other able men, together with several churches, came into the fellowship of the Reformers. In Kentucky a general union was consummated between the Reformers and the Stoneites in 1832. The most active leaders in this union were John Smith, on the part of the Reformers, and Samuel Rogers, on the part of the Stoneites. These men went everywhere through Kentucky for more than two years bringing the two parties together.[5]

The influence and ideas of the Reformers permeated entire associations. The first Baptist association to be controlled by the Reformers was the Mahoning of Ohio. Mr. Campbell became a member of it in 1823, but for two years before he was a regular visitor at its meetings. This Association met with the Reformers' church at Sharon, August, 1829, just after a division in the Baptist church. A list of the sixteen churches composing the Association indicates

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 44; V. 44; VII. 245.
[2] Memoirs, II. 142; Christian Baptist, IV. 217; V. 210.
[3] Christian Baptist, V. 284; Hayden, 149, 150, 324, 355.
[4] Hayden, 311.
[5] Hayden, 51, 59, 79, 112, 125, 300.

that the Baptist element had been completely lost by 1827. This Association was dissolved in 1830 without a dissenting vote, as far as its Baptist form was concerned.[1] Along with the Mahoning and almost as early to abandon its creed and constitution, was the Stillwater Association of Ohio. Its messenger to the Redstone Association was refused a seat on account of the suspicion of "Campbellite heresy."[2]

The year 1828 was a notable one among Kentucky Baptist associations. At the meetings of three of the largest associations the Reformers were in control, due in a very large degree to the preaching and influence of John Smith. During the year 1827-28 he had baptized many people after the "ancient practice." The churches for which he preached regularly, Spencer's Creek, Grassy Lick, and Mt. Sterling, reported in their annual letters of 1828 to the North District Association of which they were members, the baptism of 392 persons during the year. The twenty-four churches of the Association reported the baptism of nearly 900 persons, "the greater part of whom had been immersed by Smith." Five new churches had been constituted by Smith on the Bible alone and became members of the Association.[3]

The "North District Association" met in July, 1828. At its meeting the previous year the Lulbegrud church had sent up the following charges aimed at John Smith, but veiling the object of their charge under the designation, "one of their preachers." The accusations were:

"1. That, while it is the custom of Baptists to use as the word of God King James translation, he had on two or three occasions in public, and often privately in his family, read from Alexander Campbell's translation."

"2. That, while it is the custom in the ceremony of baptism to pronounce, 'I baptize you,' he on the contrary is in the habit of saying, 'I immerse you.'"[4]

"3. That, in administering the Lord's Supper, while it is the custom to break the loaf into bits, small enough to be readily taken into the mouth, yet he leaves the bread in large pieces, teaching that each communicant should break it for himself."

[1] Hayden, 56, 270, 295.
[2] Memoirs, II. 140.
[3] Life of J. Smith, 250.
[4] Life of Smith, 183.

Without waiting for himself to be singled out, he arose and said: "I plead guilty to them all." After bitter debating and wrangling over the charges it was finally voted that they be laid over for another year. The meeting of 1828 was the time when these charges should be brought up. Smith had been unwearied in his preaching, and marvelously successful in winning men to the gospel during the year. Still, when the Association met, he was in doubt at first as to which side had the majority of messengers. In the registration of delegates, it was soon found that the majority were favorable to him. The messengers from the five new churches he had established turned the scale in his favor. The charges were not mentioned on the floor of the Association.[1] This Association divided in 1830, ten churches voluntarily withdrawing and forming a new association on Baptist principles. The North District Association met for the last time as an advisory council in 1831, and was dissolved one year later as the Mahoning had been.[2] There was a disposition to dissolve in 1830, but the people thought it a little hasty, and that it might give the appearance of revolution. Fourteen churches and four parts of churches were enrolled on the occasion of the dissolution. On the same day the churches that had withdrawn from the Association two years before met and formed a new association under the same name.

The "Bracken Association" was the next to meet in 1828. Licking Association, rigidly Calvinistic and devoted to the Philadelphia Confession, desired to enter into mutual correspondence with Bracken, but had determined as a condition of it to require from Bracken "a pledge to support the Philadelphia Confession."[3] Smith's activities in the early part of the year had extended to the churches of this Association. The letter came from Licking requiring the pledge and was read before the Association. After a prolonged discussion by various members, during which Smith had sat in silence, he finally saw his opportunity to speak. He spoke the next day, Sunday, to the entire Association. When the matter came up on Monday for final disposition, the Association resolved to recommend no creed but the New Testament. A witness of these events said: "It was John Smith that gave impulse and tone to the Reformation of Bracken as he had already done in North District, Boones' Creek, and other associations." Bracken did not remain

[1] Life of Smith, 340-343.
[2] Life of Smith, 362, 415-417.
[3] Life of Smith, 259.

long under the influence of the Reformers, but went back into Regular Baptist fellowship in 1830; yet not without loss by defection to the side of the reformation.[1] Benedict assures us in his *History of the Baptists* (819) that the number of members was reduced from 2,200 to 900 on account of the "sweeping inroad" of the Reformers. "During the storm, a few went over to the Licking Association, others stood aloof for years and then returned; yet it is evident that a large majority embraced the Reformation. This should not have been so; neither would it ever have occurred (in my opinion) had we not in all our movements acted very impolitic. Many of our churches, instead of remaining firm on the Bible, and the Bible alone, the great platform on which we have ever stood, became frightened and brought forth from secrecy and silence old musty creeds, confessions of faith, etc., which really drove many from our ranks."

The next association to take action, the same year, 1828, was the Boones' Creek. The letter sent out by the Association in 1827 observed to the churches composing it: "We hear from some of the churches that they are endeavoring to return to the ancient order of things, and they recognize the Scriptures alone as an entire and sufficient rule of faith and practice."[2] "During the spring and summer of 1828, there had been an increase of about 870 members by immersion, many of whom had been brought in through the preaching of John Smith." The Association, composed of thirteen churches, met on the third Saturday in September. The question before it, raised in the letters of two churches, was concerning an amendment to the constitution to bring it into harmony with the word of God. The following action was taken by the Association and reported back to all the churches: "We therefore recommend to the churches the abolition of the present constitution, and in lieu thereof, the adoption of the following resolution: Resolved, that we, the churches of Jesus Christ, believing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and the only rule of faith and obedience given by the great Head of the Church for its government, do agree to meet annually — for the worship of God — and on such occasions voluntarily communicate the state of religion amongst us by letter and messenger."[3] Such men as John Smith, William Morton, Jeremiah Vardeman and Jacob Creath, all under the influence of the

[1] Life of Smith, 386; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 477.
[2] Life of Smith, 265.
[3] Life of Smith, 266; Christian Baptist, VI. 119.

reformatory ideas, were the leading spirits in this meeting. The report of the action of churches with reference to the resolution was made a year later. The result showed that seven churches voted to retain the constitution, six voted to abolish it. At the meeting in 1830 these six churches were dropped from the Association, and both North District and Tate's Creek messengers were rejected.[1]

In 1829 Tate's Creek Association was under the controling influence of the Reformers. A minority of orthodox Baptist churches withdrew and called a meeting for the month of June, 1830, at which they drew up a bill of errors against certain preachers and churches of the Association. This Association was composed of delegates from ten of the twenty-six churches. They organized and proceeded to meet at the "Tate's Creek Association," and resolved to cut off correspondence with the churches that tolerated the heresy of Campbellism. The majority of this Association was thus committed to the teaching of Alexander Campbell.[2]

The Franklin and Elkhorn Associations were, however, not friendly to the Reformers, though there was a strong and influential minority disposed to sanction reformation on the new principles. In 1829 Franklin Association adopted the decrees of the Beaver Association of Pennsylvania, which had rejected as heretical the Mahoning Association of Ohio, and refused to have any fellowship with it. The churches of the Association were warned not to harbor any such errors. The Elkhorn Association at its meeting in 1830, dropped from further correspondence two churches, and refused to recognize the messenger from the North District. This meant the exclusion from Baptist fellowship of eighteen churches and 1,470 members.[3]

The Russell Creek and South Concord Associations took action against "Campbellite" heresy, the latter passing a resolution advising all the churches to lock their doors against the followers of Alexander Campbell, who "deny the agency of the Spirit."[4]

Very few of the Kentucky Associations escaped the influence of the Reformers. One of the things which finally closed the doors of Baptist churches against Reformers was the union between them

[1] Life of Smith, 307, 388.
[2] Life of Smith, 298, 376.
[3] Life of Smith, 330, 370, 382.
[4] Life of Smith, 394, 407.

and the New Lights, or Christians, who were looked upon and called Arians or Unitarians.[1]

In many of the associations of Virginia the reforming ideas found a hearing. This was especially so in and around Richmond. A visitor to the Dover Association in 1830 wrote to Mr. Campbell, saying: "Your labor is not in vain in the Lord. Light is evidently dawning. We counted ten public teachers who are more or less advocates for the ancient gospel, and not one of them whose talents are not far before mine, and some equal, if not superior, to any in the Association." "It is impossible for me to communicate at this time the great number of friends in this Association to the ancient gospel." "I have been credibly informed that three of the churches in King William County are almost unanimous." At a conference of eight churches of the Dover Association, December, 1830, the report submitted to the meeting said: "The system of religion known by the name of Campbellism has spread of late among our churches to a distressing extent, and seems to call loudly for remedial measures." The Goshen Association of Virginia seems to have been early permeated with the teaching of Mr. Campbell, for at its meeting in 1828 the question of the propriety of associations came under discussion, resulting in the withdrawal of that Association from the General Association.[2]

The New York Baptist Register of the year 1830 has the following paragraph: "Mr. Campbell's paper and their vigorous missionary efforts are making great achievements. It is said that one-half of the Baptist churches in Ohio have embraced this sentiment and become what they call Christian Baptists. It is spreading like a mighty contagion through the Western States, wasting Zion in its progress. In Kentucky its desolations are said to be even greater than in Ohio.[3]

Newspapers devoted to the advocacy of the new views of reform began to spring up throughout the states principally affected, and contributed in no small degree to their spread. Besides the publications of Mr. Campbell, *The Christian Baptist* and *The Millennial Harbinger,* were such papers as *The Millennial Herald,* established by Walter Scott, at Steubenville, Ohio, 1827 (monthly);[4]

[1] Life of Smith, 506.

[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 534; 1831, 76; Christian Baptist, VI. 119.

[3] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 117.

[4] Christian Baptist, IV. 262.

The Tennessee Christian Register, established by George R. Fall, at Nashville, in 1829 (weekly);[1] *The Christian Examiner and Millennial Herald,* established by J. Norwood, at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1829 (monthly;[2] *The Christian Review,* established in 1830, and published at Jeffersonville, Indiana, by Nathaniel Fall and Beverly James (monthly);[3] *The Inquirer for Truth,* edited by Mr. Saxton, of Canton, Ohio, 1827 (monthly);[4] *The Evangelical Enquirer,* established in 1831 at Cincinnati, Ohio, and edited by D. S. Burnet (weekly);[5] *The Evangelist,* established at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1832, and edited by Walter Scott (monthly);[6] *The Christian Messenger,* established by B. W. Stone in 1825, published at Georgetown, Kentucky (monthly).[7]

The establishment of "the ancient order of things" was attended by various extravagances and abuses. The literalist, the extremist, accompanies and menaces every such movement. In fact, accompanying the entire history of the movement, the extremist has been found. The earliest manifestations of abuse were in the form of a crass literalism in the application of the principle, "The restoration of the ancient order of things." The church at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, attempted to restore the mutual exhortations of the apostolic churches, and soon found itself rent by debates and dissensions in public meeting. The same was true of the church at Cross Roads, Virginia, and many others. Every member thought it his privilege to "prophesy" in the meetings. Both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Scott thought such conduct disorderly. On one occasion in such a meeting Scott arose and asked, "What, my brethren, is the church to be a mouth?" Questions concerning the disorders incident to the introduction of the ancient order of things were frequently coming in to Mr. Campbell and received answer in the pages of the Millennial Harbinger.[8]

Another serious difficulty was that concerning the practice and New Testament obligation of feet-washing and the holy kiss, which were introduced into many of the churches, but repudiated by the

[1] Christian Baptist, VII. 71.
[2] Christian Baptist, VII. 72, 190.
[3] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 228.
[4] Christian Baptist, IV. 262.
[5] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 191.
[6] Millennial Harbinger, 1832, 46.
[7] Christian Baptist, IV. 262.
[8] Memoirs, II. 125.

great majority and entirely discountenanced by Mr. Campbell as not essential parts of the ancient order.[1] Some of the churches in Kentucky were disturbed by serious debate over "the attitude of prayer, the hour of the day for eating the Lord's Supper, the chemical nature of the wine to be used, the propriety of a sermon or even a benediction, after the supper, the necessity of the loud amen to all the public prayers, the number of deacons in a congregation, the holy kiss, etc."[2]

The opposition to associations was pushed to extremes, so that there was no way to further evangelistic effort. Hayden has occasion in his *History* to complain bitterly of the senseless disorganization of the "Disciples." Mr. Campbell himself saw the folly of it and tried to arrest the tendency.[3] He was forced to acknowledge the need of some sort of association or co-operation among Christians for the purposes of self-preservation and growth. Sidney Rigdon, before his defection to the Mormons, began to advocate the restoration of the ancient communism as practiced in the church at Jerusalem. These extremes were not wide-spread. They were the inevitable phenomena connected with an earnest effort to restore the primitive faith and practice.

[1] Memoirs, II. 129, 411.
[2] Life of Smith, 391, 392.
[3] Hayden, 297, 298.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPREAD OF THE "ANCIENT ORDER OF THINGS" AMONG THE BAPTISTS: CAUSES AND CONDITIONS.

A movement that spreads so rapidly and widely and succeeds so evidently as that led by the Campbells cannot be entirely inexplicable or groundless. Such a phenomenon is not without explanation either in its own elements or in the condition of things. The general response it met with among the Baptists indicates that they shared more things in common with the ideas of the Campbells than any other religious body except the "Christians," or "New Lights."

I. We shall seek first of all among the Baptists for the conditions that made it successful.

1. The division of the Baptists into "Regulars" and "Separates."[1]

The early Baptists of Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky were divided into Regulars and Separates. The Separates arose in New England out of the Great Awakening under the preaching of Whitfield and Edwards. The party that favored the methods, and rejoiced in the fruits of the revival were called "New Lights." One of these New Lights, Shubal Stearnes, adopted Baptist views concerning baptism, and shortly after, with a company of sixteen of like sentiments, came to Virginia. Their work extended rapidly over Carolina and Virginia until they became the most numerous of the Baptist parties in that region. The Separates were the most active and the chief sufferers in the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia. In their preaching they were characterized by the fervid enthusiasm and the methods of the preachers of the Great Awakening. In their religious customs they sought a severe simplicity, and strove for a faithful conformity to the customs of the apostolic churches. They sought to reproduce the apostolic customs of feet-washing, the holy kiss, the anointing of the sick, love-feasts, laying on of hands, and weekly communion. They went so far as to appoint "Apostles," after deciding at the Association of

[1] Newman, History of the Baptists, 334, 292-303.

1774 that the 11th, 12th, and 13th verses of the 4th chapter of Ephesians described "offices that are now in use in Christ's Church." "It was further resolved that said offices be immediately established by the appointment of certain persons to fill them, provided any possessed of such gifts could be found among them." The first apostle to be chosen was Samuel Harriss. Two others were afterward appointed, but the system was not liked by the people, and after fruitless attempts to put it in force, it was abandoned."[1]

In their doctrinal views they were about equally divided between Calvinists and Armenians, with a growing inclination toward Calvinism. The question was frequently debated in their associations, and on one occasion, the antagonism became so bitter on the part of the Calvinists against the Armenians, that the Armenians withdrew and set up a separate meeting alongside of the other. Negotiations were carried on by written messages, which finally resulted in a reconciliation.

At first the Separates were opposed to creeds and confessions, fearing that they might bind them too much.[2] They did not, however, oppose creeds as such, but on account of the errors in them. At one session of an association the question respecting the utility of a confession of faith was debated, and a decision reached "that each church might exercise her own discretion in adopting the confession of faith or not." The Separates finally adopted the "Philadelphia Confession" with the following explanations: "To prevent its usurping a tyrannical power over the consciences of any — we do not mean that every person is bound to the strict observance of everything therein contained, nor do we mean to make it, in any respect, superior or equal to the Scriptures, in matters of faith and practice; although we think it the best human composition of the kind now extant; yet it shall be liable to alterations, whenever the general committee, in behalf of the Association, shall think fit."

They also regarded with suspicion the growing power of associations, although they had them, the first having been organized in 1760. At a meeting of the Association in 1771, it was "unanimously agreed that the Association has no power or authority to

[1] Semple, Virginia Baptists, 81, 83.

[2] Semple, Virginia Baptists, 67, 80, 101; Newman, 301.

impose anything upon the churches; but that we act as an advisory council." [1]

All these peculiar customs and views of the Separates were, of course, offensive to the Regular Baptists, and their persistence in them postponed the union of the two bodies until 1787. "The adoption of the Philadelphia Confession by the Separates prepared the way for such a union." The union was finally effected on the basis of a moderate Calvinism agreed to by the Separates in the words: "that the doctrine of salvation by Christ, and free, unmerited grace alone ought to be believed by every Christian and maintained by every minister of the Gospel." "Upon these terms we are united; and desire that hereafter the names Regular and Separate be buried in oblivion, and that from henceforth we shall be known by the name of the "United Baptist Churches of Christ in Virginia." [2]

The condition of affairs in the Baptist churches of Virginia was carried over into Tennessee and Kentucky by the emigration of Baptists. The Separates populated southern and central Kentucky, and organized what was called "The South Kentucky Association." The Regular Baptist association was called "The Elkhorn." A union was consummated between these two bodies in 1880-1801 upon a moderately Calvinistic platform. There was, however, a coloring of Armenianism preserved by the Separates, together with an opposition to confessions of faith and the authority of associations. The Separate Association of South Kentucky was divided into North and South Districts. Tate's Creek Association had been formed out of Separate churches before the union.[3]

It is important to observe that the very first association in Kentucky to adopt the views of Alexander Campbell was the North District, a distinctly Separate body of churches. These very Separates were the people who had most in common with the principles of the Reformers. The first associations of Kentucky to take action against "Campbellism" were those associations which had been strongly Regular in their composition, namely, Elkhorn and Franklin. The principles of the Reformation never gained a strong foothold in these Associations before they were finally condemned and shut out from Baptist fellowship. A careful study of the original religious complexion of Baptist communities in Kentucky

[1] Semple, 64, 71, 88, 90.

[2] Semple, 101.

[3] Benedict, History of the Baptists, 811, 820; Life of Smith, 124, 135, 252.

will reveal the fact that the line of cleavage between Baptists and Reformers followed the line of cleavage that originally existed between Separates and Regulars. This phenomenon is manifest in the case of the Tate's Creek Association, which was Separate, and declared for the Reformation among the first. The same is true of the Bracken and Boone's Creek Associations.[1]

This phenomenon is observable in Virginia. So far as the teachings of Campbell gained any foothold in this early period, and in those circles where it was pronounced in Virginia, it was among those Baptists who had been originally Separates. A single case in point is that of the Dover Association, in which "Campbellism" gained the widest and firmest hold, and which was one of the four original Separate Baptist associations. It was the very stronghold of the Separates in Virginia. It was the infusion of the Separates among the Baptist churches of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee that furthered the propagation of the principles of the Reformers among them in those states.[2]

2. The hyper-Calvinism of the Baptists in many sections.[3]

This theological manifestation among the Baptists of that period goes a long way in explaining the success of the Reformers. It is a phenomenon to which all Baptist historians refer, and which they all alike deplore. This type of doctrine was not, however, peculiar to the Baptists. It prevailed among all the denominations of the time, except the Methodists, who led a revolt against it. Calvinism was the orthodoxy of that time. It was not merely held as a speculation, but consistently reduced to practice and preached. It was the vital gospel, the stock in trade of every preacher. Calvinism was thought to give point and persuasiveness to every appeal to the unconverted, and to furnish stimulus and assurance to the elect. Let one of these preachers (B. W. Stone) who was himself brought up in the system and supported it for a time, describe it. "I at that time believed and taught, that mankind were so totally depraved, that they could do nothing acceptable to God, till his Spirit, by some physical, almighty and mysterious power had quickened, enlightened and regenerated the heart, and thus prepared the sinner to believe in Jesus for salvation. I began plainly to see, that if God did not perform this regenerating work in all, it must be because he chose

[1] Life of Smith, 376.
[2] Benedict, 660; Semple, 120.
[3] Vedder, 92.

to do it for some and not for others, and that this depended on His own sovereign will and pleasure. It then required no depth of intellect to see that this doctrine is inseparably linked with unconditional election and reprobation as taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith. They are virtually one; and this is the reason why I admitted the decrees of election and reprobation, having admitted the doctrine of total depravity."[1]

These doctrines were not merely taught in the class-room, or reasoned upon in the study, but were the substance of discourses from the pulpit. There was a pronounced tendency, however, among Baptist preachers to carry the doctrines to extremes. Speaking of the preachers of that time, J. B. Jeter says: "They seemed to think that they were called to the ministry for no other purpose than to proclaim and vindicate a few abstruse and barren points of the Calvinistic creed; but their ministry, excepting to a few indoctrinated zealots, was not pleasing. The people generally, becoming disgusted with such dry and unsatisfying speculations, were ready to attend on any ministry which promised them a palatable if not a more nutritious diet. In churches of this sort Mr. Campbell found his way prepared before him."[2] The same testimony is borne by the Baptist historian, Newman (*History of the Baptists,* 488).

Campbell and his fellow-preachers set their faces squarely against this sort of preaching, not so much because they did not believe the doctrines of Calvinism, as because the pulpit was not the place for such speculations. Campbell had been brought up a Calvinist, and remained a moderate one to his death. The question with the Reformers was not that between Calvinists and Armenians — of that they cared little — but, What was the apostolic gospel and the primitive method of preaching it. They were as a whole inclined to the Armenian side, as being more consonant with the freedom of the gospel and its universal appeal. They just as consistently deprecated the preaching of Armenianism to sinners. They refused to make it a test question. The question was not "Do you believe that salvation is free and unmerited," or "Do you believe that Christ tasted death for every man," or "Do you believe that you are totally depraved and utterly helpless to turn to God without His previous quickening power," but "Do you believe on

[1] Stone, B. W., Autobiography, 30.

[2] Jeter, J. B., Campbellism Examined, 79, 80.

the Lord Jesus Christ," if so, " Arise and be baptized and wash away your sins." That was the conventional plan of every one of their sermons. It varied with different preachers, but their ideas centered around one question, " What must I do to be saved?" and this they answered after what they thought was the manner of the apostolic preachers.

Such preaching, characterized by such simplicity, directness, and scripturalness, fell upon their listeners with refreshing newness. The strength and fascination of the appeal to the unconverted lay in the assured certainty of one's instant salvation through an instant obedience to the requirements of the gospel. A favorite phrase in assuring the people that they need not wait for some token of the divine call to a better life was: " And he took them the same hour of the night and washed their stripes; and was baptized, he and all his immediately." This was all strange, and in many cases thrilling. Persons were baptized by the hundreds under this preaching. The most successful preachers among the Baptists, before the separation of the Reformers, were those very men who had grasped the apostolic method and went about using it. The new ideas at once demonstrated their effectiveness in bringing the unconverted to decision at least, and won the approval of many Baptists. The churches where the Reformers labored were always sure to send in to the meetings of the associations reports of the largest numbers of accessions. In many cases the number so far surpassed those of the Regular Baptist churches, that the comparisons became painful.[1] The reforming churches grew by leaps and bounds, while the strictly Baptist churches scarcely held their own, or reported losses. As illustrating the startling effect of this preaching the following story is told of John Whitacre. " On one occasion he was at a meeting where several persons were gathered at the altar in prayer for divine power to come down. Among them was a lady of intelligent appearance who evidently was in deep distress. She prayed that God would give her faith, saving faith; that he would help her to believe in Jesus. When she ceased Whitacre spoke to her; ' Madame,' said he, ' what would you give for faith in Mohamet?' ' Nothing,' was her somewhat indignant reply. ' Why not,' he continued. ' Because,' she rejoined, ' I believe him to be an impostor.' ' But why are you so anxious for faith in Jesus Christ?' ' Because,' said she, ' I believe He is my only Savior.' ' Well,' said Whitacre,

[1] Christian Baptist, VII. 186.

'why are you praying for that which you say you have? Why not go forward and obey the Gospel and be made free from sin.'"[1]

B. W. Stone bears witness to the startling effect of the new preaching in his own experience (page 45). "When we began first to preach these things, the people appeared as just awakened from the sleep of ages — they seemed to see for the first time that they were responsible beings, and that a refusal to use the means was a damning sin."

3. Attachment to creeds among the Baptists.[2]

One of Mr. Campbell's greatest protests, as we have seen, was that against creeds as bonds of fellowship and tests of orthodoxy. Baptist churches everywhere had their creeds, to which they were more or less devoted. There was no general uniformity of credal statement; each church was free to choose its own creed or make one for itself. The Philadelphia Confession came nearer becoming an authoritative Baptist creed, and in fact obtained more general acceptance among the Baptists, than any other single confession. Entire associations adopted it and pressed it upon the churches. There were other Baptist churches that rejected all human creeds. This was true of the Separate churches especially. Such churches were, of course, very cordial toward the teaching of Campbell. The traditions of the Baptist church and consistency with her professions of loyalty to the Scriptures, placed her among the creedless churches then, as she has become in fact to-day. Yet not a few eminent Baptists in the early years of the nineteenth century went into the field in defense of creeds and confessions of faith.[3]

4. The anti-missionary sentiment among the Baptists.[4]

Mr. Campbell's opposition to missionary societies in the early numbers of the Christian Baptist doubtless obtained for him the sympathy of the anti-missionary element among the Baptists, in so far as his opposition extended to societies and methods. Campbell did not oppose missions, or the conversion of the heathen. He did not share the hyper-Calvinism of that party. It is acknowledged by all Baptist historians that this party carried Calvinism to the extreme of antinomianism. They could never have found sympathy in

[1] Hayden, 89.
[2] Baxter, Life of Scott, 90-100; Hayden, 28-30; Vedder, 192, 193.
[3] Christian Baptist, IV. 200.
[4] Christian Baptist, IV. 117.

Campbell for this. Just how important or numerous were the accessions to the ranks of the Reformers from this source is not clear. They applauded Campbell's attack upon the "mercenary methods" of missionary, Bible, and tract societies for raising money, but they could not, however, have favored his cause against creeds and metaphysical speculations. This crusade against societies and a hired ministry was of brief duration. He soon saw the baleful influence of it in unspiritual and selfish persons. It is scarcely possible to reconcile the conflicting accounts of two writers upon this subject, who draw just opposite conclusions from the influence of this anti-missionary party. Newman (*History of the Baptists,* 441) quotes approvingly the statement of a writer, who says: "Some of the prime friends of missions among the Baptists became converts to Mr. Alexander Campbell's system, and joined him. Thus missions became beyond measure odious." Jeter (*Campbellism Examined,* 80) says: "His opposition to Christian missions and other benevolent enterprises, gained him many friends." "The antinomian Baptists were, almost without exception, hostile to all combined and self-denying efforts among Christians for spreading the knowledge of the Gospel." "They were delighted to find that they had in Mr. Campbell a champion in their cause so zealous and distinguished." It is difficult to see how Campbell would attract the sympathy of both the prime friends of missions and the prime foes of missions. The points of agreement were not numerous enough between Campbell and the antinomians to result in very large accessions to his ranks from them. Moreover, Daniel Parker, the leader of the anti-missionary element in the church, was as bitterly hostile to Campbell as any opponent he had.[1] There is no doubt that Campbell did appeal to the opposers of missions and that he attracted such a following which continues to the present day. It is the more significant in its bearings upon the question to observe that in just those regions of the South and West where the anti-missionary Baptists prevailed, is the region where the anti-missionary element among the Disciples prevails at the present time, namely, in Tennessee, South Kentucky, Arkansas, and Texas.

II. General religious conditions favorable to its success.

The movement of the Campbells was an outgrowth of the conditions of the time. Confessionalism and theological preaching had

[1] Christian Baptist, 185, 191.

gone to seed in all the churches. The need for a more vital, simple, and biblical gospel was felt everywhere. Revolts against dogma and confessionalism were not confined to any one denomination.

Several religious movements, all characterized by a desire to return to the Bible, sprang up in the early years of the nineteenth century. These were led, one out of the Baptist Church, by Abner Jones of Vermont, one out of the Methodist Church by James O'Kelly of Virginia, another out of the Presbyterian Church by B. W. Stone of Kentucky. Each of these bodies assumed organic form, shared alike in their opposition to creeds and sectarian names, and took the name Christian. Parts of these three bodies discovered each other and formed the so-called "Christian Church," which survives under the modifying designation "Connection." The major part of the Stone movement joined the followers of Alexander Campbell. The "Church of God" came into being on essentially the same principles in 1830.

Besides these organized and affiliated bodies there were single churches that sought the New Testament basis, which were entirely out of fellowship with other churches: one in Baltimore under the leadership of a Mr. Duncan; one in Philadelphia under the leadership of Mr. Chambers; and one in Gettysburg, Pa., under the leadership of Mr. McLean.[1] All three were Presbyterian churches. They renounced the authority of the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbytery in 1825, and established themselves upon New Testament ground. About 1818-1820 a church in New York was organized independently, with the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, and sought to restore the exact order of the apostolic churches. This church heard of other similar organizations from time to time, and entered into correspondence with them to ascertain the faith and practice of each. The following churches were heard from — one in Edinburg, one in Manchester, and one in Dublin. These are a few out of a multitude of instances of churches, which, unknown to each other, felt that the Protestant churches were departing from the principles of the great Reformation in their faith and practice. These are indications that the spirit of reform was in the air. It belonged to the spirit of the age. None of them have come to such wide-spread influence or strength as the movement led by the Campbells.[2]

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 144, 215.

[2] Christian Baptist, V. 88, 97, 155, 169, 234, 276.

III. Conditions of success present in the movement.

1. The leaders.

Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander were two of the strongest characters of the age in which they lived. Thomas was unsurpassed in Christlikeness of spirit, keenness of insight, and persuasiveness of speech. All who ever saw him testify to the saintliness of his character, the splendid fatherliness of his bearing. His days of strength and leadership were well nigh over before the real struggle began, in which his son revealed such rare ability. He, however, was the creator, the molding mind and genius of the movement. He gave it birth, laid out the lines of its advance, and provided its axiomatic watch-words in the Declaration and Address. Little new was added, save by way of amplification, by his son.

Alexander Campbell was, by pre-eminence, the advocate and defender of the principles of the movement. Friend and foe alike acknowledge the supremacy of his endowments for the task allotted him. Says Newman (*History of the Baptists,* 489): "Alexander Campbell was a man of fair education and of unbounded confidence in his resources and tenets. He was possessed of a powerful personality and was one of the ablest debaters of his age. In the use of caricature and sarcasm he has rarely been surpassed. Throughout the regions that he chose for the propagation of his views, the number of Baptist ministers who could in any way approach him in argumentative power or in ability to sway the masses of the people, was very small." No one thing obtained for him such prestige among the Baptists in this early period as his debates with Walker and Maccalla. Jeter says (76): "By his fearless and forcible defense of the distinctive sentiments of the Baptists, in his debates with Messrs. Walker and Maccalla, he secured extensively the confidence and esteem of the denomination." His debate with Robert Owen, the most famous skeptic of his age, in 1829, at Cincinnatti, and his acknowledged vanquishment of his opponent, won for him an international reputation and the gratitude of the entire Christian world. Owen had challenged the clergy of the United States to debate with him. No one volunteered. He grew bold and boastful. Finally Alexander Campbell wrote an acceptance of the challenge.

These leaders were fortunate in the men who gathered around them — Walter Scott, Adamson Bentley, Wm. Hayden in Ohio,

John Smith, Jacob Creath, Sr., Jacob Creath, Jr., J. T. Johnson, and B. W. Stone in Kentucky. They were all strong men; not many highly educated, but splendidly endowed by nature. They were singularly adapted to the times and the people. The native genius of such a man as John Smith was of the first grade. Jacob Creath, Sr., was pronounced by Henry Clay to be "the finest orator that Kentucky has ever produced."

2. Their methods.

The methods they employed were designed to win men. In the forefront of reformation, they urged the restoration of the apostolic preaching. The recovery of the apostolic matter and manner, method and purpose in preaching, was the unique contribution and power of these men. Great emphasis was laid upon the making of converts in every meeting. Their purpose in preaching was to win men to Christ or to their reformatory ideas. The result was an evangelism and a proselytism. This two-fold appeal contributed to their rapid increase as well. To bring men to an immediate decision was the result aimed at. It was this practical, evangelistic turn that gave the movement power and progress.

The "plan of salvation" as laid down in the New Testament was dwelt upon in all of their preaching and carefully explained from the Scriptures. They studied plainness and simplicity in their public speech. They marked and numbered the steps in the process of salvation. It included: 1, Faith; 2, Repentance; 3, Baptism; 4, Forgiveness of Sins; 5, Gift of the Holy Spirit; 6, Eternal Life. Such was the answer to the question propounded by the inquiring sinner, "What must I do to be saved?" The result, as has been noted, were frequent and increasing accessions to the churches. Necessarily these accessions included many proselytes from other churches who had been convinced of the correctness of the principles. Many regarded this as a second conversion. This simple, direct, and vital evangelism, which has characterized the preaching of the ministers of the Disciples from that day to this, accounts for their rapid growth more than anything else.

3. Their message.

Their method explains much of their success, but as great an element of appeal lay in their message. Stated in brief it was, the union of all Christians on the basis of apostolic faith and practice. This proclamation contained two members: 1, *The union of all Christians.* This was the guiding principle, the governing motive.

It was not difficult to convince the Christian communities of that time of the evils of sectarianism and division. Their task so far was an easy one. It was a beautiful vision, a glorious ideal that looked down upon them. The realization of it was a task worthy of the most earnest effort. A united church, of one mind and spirit, marching together to the conversion of the world and the overthrow of infidelity — this had been the prayer of the Master and the dream of the church in all ages, and was to be the immediate achievement of the present generation of Christians, if the churches would only abandon their divisive creeds and confessions, their human systems of doctrine and discipline, and their sectarian names, and return to the Christianity of Christ and his apostles. All agreed to the desirability of the union of all Christians; but not all agreed as to the way of it, namely: 2, *By restoring apostolic Christianity.* The controversy began and has ever since waged on this last member. Yet this plan was convincing and captivating to multitudes who saw the millennium in the not distant future through its acceptance. There was power of appeal in it, because there was something in it worth while. Then too it was easily understood. Many preachers of mediocre talent found their greatness in its advocacy.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SEPARATION.

As early as 1828-1830 the novel propaganda of Alexander Campbell began to attract wide-spread attention of a diverse sort. Some said, It is a religious craze buoyed up by sophistry and plausible error, that will soon pass away. Others said, It is born of the devil for the present torment of God's people and ought to be destroyed. Still others said, It is the work of God, who hath raised up a prophet in these last days in the person of the "Bethany Sage."

The same strange stories are told of these days as of the early days of other rising reformers. Many who began by abhorring his errors, or pitying his madness, ended by espousing his cause. Some who came to hear him with stones to stone him (this was literally true of some of the early preachers of the new reformation), stole away in shame to throw away their stones and returned to defend him. The lukewarm, the indifferent, the amused, the bitterly hostile, were all won over and composed the stream of recruits gradually filling his ranks. Not until such a movement begins to succeed does it draw down upon it the bitterest opposition. If merciless hostility ever bears witness to the success of a thing, we need only consult the number, the eminence, and the bitterness of his opposers to conclude that he had achieved the highest degree of success before 1830. Yet both friend and foe alike testified to his success. In this instance, as in many others, a man's worst foes shall be they of his own house. The Baptists fought the progress of the new ideas more than any other people. They wrote replies, issued decrees, excommunicated his followers, defamed his character, locked church doors against him and his missionaries, ostracized and proscribed them in various quarters, and burned his books and theirs. Such treatment only fanned his ardor and made him friends.

The Reformers were not wanting in bitterness of reply. While generally they quietly submitted to measures against them, there are instances where they returned reproach for reproach, injury for injury, and blow for blow. There was reason for their conducting themselves becomingly or even meekly before their enemies, for

they had everything to gain and nothing to lose, and many friends could be made by it. They understood that the zeal and frenzy of their opposers were but indications of conscious weakness. The Reformers, on the other hand, were conscious of the strength of their cause and sensible of its steady progress. The process in Baptist churches against the Reformers began with opposition to them in local churches and associations, followed by separation from them.

The earliest opposition arose, as we have seen, in the Redstone Association, the first association with which Campbell had relation. It began as soon as the relation was formed. It was manifest and outspoken in 1816, and by 1823 had become so formidable that Campbell was obliged to withdraw and take fellowship with the Mahoning Association. The enemies of Campbell and his church at Brush Run had been stealthily trying to work up a majority of the churches in the Association against him, but had failed hitherto.[1] In 1823 they thought they had finally succeeded and could venture a formal motion to drop the church from membership. The withdrawal of Campbell defeated their purpose. The matter was followed up at the meetings of the Association in 1824 and 1825. At the latter the churches which had not mentioned the Philadelphia Confession in their letters were denied a seat. In 1826 the leaders against Campbell succeeded in organizing the Association out of the messengers from ten churches that favored their project, and cut off formally and one by one the other thirteen churches of the Association as not properly constituted according to Baptist usage. The minority thus withdrew from the majority. These churches thus cut off from fellowship in the Redstone Association met in November, 1826, at Washington and formed a new association under the name "The Washington Association." This was the first action against the Reformers by an association.[2]

1. Divisions in local churches.

In Ohio the Baptist church at Nelson, divided in 1824 between those who favored the "Articles of Faith," and those who took the Bible alone as the rule of faith and practice. In 1828 the Baptist church at Bazetta divided, and in 1829 the church at Sharon, Pa., just across the Ohio line. Innumerable other smaller schisms took place of which no record has been preserved.[3]

[1] Memoirs, II. 68.
[2] Christian Baptist, III. 91; IV. 55.
[3] Hayden, 22, 282, 269.

In Kentucky the first church to take action against "Campbellism" was at Lulbegrud, under the ministrations of John Smith.[1] Their grievance was on account of the reading of the "new translation," changes in the formula of baptism, and in the administration of the Lord's supper, as they embodied it in a letter to the North District Association. Grassy Lick church divided in 1829,[2] Clear Creek in 1829 — both over the question of human creeds.[3] The church at South Benson was rent asunder over an attempt to force the Beaver resolutions upon it.[4] The church at Mayslick divided in 1830 over the question of the breaking of bread.[5] The church at Louisville suffered from division in 1830.

In Virginia the same process was repeated among the Baptist churches. The "First Church" of Richmond divided in 1832.[6] In Indiana and Illinois there were divisions in many churches. Local separations between Baptists and Reforming Baptists took place continuously and widely from 1825. The societies of separated Reformers regarded themselves as in a larger Baptist fellowship. Each faction usually laid claim to being the true Baptist church of the place and appointed messengers to the next meeting of the association. The matter was thereby transferred to the association. The struggle of the two sets of messengers for recognition by the association invariably precipitated a division there, the majority being either for or against the Reformers.

In almost every instance of local division the Baptist element was the active aggressor.[7] The Reformers were content to abide with the Regular Baptists provided they were given perfect freedom of testimony against what they regarded as errors of doctrine and practice. In no instance do the Reformers seem to have started an action for the exclusion of the Regular Baptists whether in the majority or minority. They were at liberty to remain in full fellowship in churches where the Reformers were in the majority. But the strictly Baptist element, whether in the majority or minority,

[1] Life of Smith, 179.
[2] Life of Smith, 289.
[3] Life of Smith, 314.
[4] Life of Smith, 333.
[5] Life of Smith, 384; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 571; 1831, 185.
[6] Christian Baptist, VI. 146; VII. 79, 249; Benedict, 660; Memoirs, II. 363.
[7] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 179; Memoirs, II. 398; Jeter, 92; Christian Baptist, VII. 187.

would not tolerate the presence of the Reformers. In many instances the excluded party was the larger. The moderator of the North District Association of Kentucky at a meeting in 1829, at which letters of complaint against the Reformers were read from several churches, arose and declared: "Brethren, we can do nothing, for those who are complained against are more numerous than those who complain. There is only one course left to us; that is to withdraw ourselves from them."[1] The Baptists were very anxious to get rid of the Reformers. "Why is it that you Reformers do not leave us? Go off quietly now and let us alone," said a Baptist to John Smith. "We love you too well for that," replied Smith. "My brother Jonathan once tried to swap horses with an Irishman, but put, perhaps, too great a price on his horse. The Irishman declined to trade, and by way of apology, said, 'It would be a great pity, Mr. Smith, to part you and your horse, for you do seem to think so very much of him.' So we feel toward you Baptist brethren."[2] The refusal of the Reformers to separate themselves from the Baptists grew out of their conscientious objections to division, and the hope that by remaining with them they might be the means of correcting some practices of the Baptists. One element of their testimony was a protest against sectarianism and division. "They were ready, to a man, to fight for peace."[3] The right of the churches to exclude was warmly debated in churches, associations, and papers. In many cases a division involved the title to property which could only be settled by an appeal to the secular courts. The result was that each party blamed the other for the divisions. The Baptists justified their exclusions of the Reformers on the ground of self-preservation, and in the interest of pure doctrine and Baptist usage. The Reformers justified their peculiar teaching on the ground that they were the teachings of the Scriptures to which the Baptists could not object if consistent with their traditions and principles.[4]

2. Divisions in associations.

The first association to take formal and definite action against the Reformers was the Redstone of Pennsylvania in 1825-1826. This had a decisive influence upon both churches and associations in their attitude toward this growing party. The thing that preci-

[1] Life of Smith, 297.
[2] Life of Smith, 393.
[3] Jeter, 88.
[4] Christian Baptist, VII. 187.

pitated general and determined action against them as a party not entitled to fellowship in Baptist churches, and that introduced the period of complete separation, was the action of the Beaver Association of Pennsylvania in 1829.[1] This action was brought about by a Mr. Winters who had opposed Campbell when both were members of the Redstone Association. The action took the form of a series of resolutions against the errors and corruptions of Campbell and the Mahoning Association, for "disbelieving and denying many of the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures." The following is a list of these resolutions:

"1. They, the Reformers, maintain that there is no promise of salvation without baptism.

"2. That baptism should be administered to all who say they believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, without examination on any other point.

"3. That there is no direct operation of the Holy Spirit on the mind prior to baptism.

"4. That baptism procures the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

"5. That the Scriptures are the only evidence of interest in Christ.

"6. That obedience places it in God's power to elect to salvation.

"7. That no creed is necessary for the church but the Scriptures as they stand. And

"8. That all baptized persons have the right to administer the ordinance of baptism."

These resolutions against the Reformers were copied widely in Baptist papers with commendation. A copy of them was forwarded to Silas M. Noel, pastor of the Baptist church at Frankfort, Ky., "who at once sent up a request to the Franklin Association, which was about to convene at the Forks-of-Elkhorn meeting-house in Woodford County, that the charges of Beaver against the Reformers should be indorsed and published by the Association. Franklin, after due consideration, not only complied with that request, but advised all the churches in her connection to discountenance the several errors and corruptions for which Mahoning had already suffered excision."[2] An attempt to have these resolutions spread

[1] Christian Baptist, VII. 269; Memoirs, II. 322.

[2] Life of Smith, 330.

upon the records of the South Benson church failed at first, but succeeded later and led to a division, the anti-creed party of Reformers going off and forming a Church of Christ on the Scriptures alone. On account of this action a meeting of the Franklin Association was called for July, 1830, and a circular letter was written and ordered sent to all the churches of the Association and to other associations with whom they were in correspondence, detailing charges of errors against Campbell and the Reformers.[1]

In April, 1830, a minority of the churches of North District Association withdrew fellowship from the majority, taking with them the books and papers, the constitution, and the name. The reforming churches resolved to meet as a "yearly meeting" for instruction and worship.[2]

In September, 1830, the Boone's Creek Association of Kentucky rejected the messengers from North District and Tate's Creek, the latter being accused of having departed from her constitution. The Association dropped the six out of thirteen churches from correspondence because they rejected their creeds.[3]

In June, 1830, a faction of Tate's Creek Association met and excluded their reforming brethren. They drew up a protest against the Reformers, embodying the "Beaver Resolutions" and adding four more errors, namely:

"8. That there is no special call to the ministry.

"9. That the law given by God to Moses is abolished.

"10. That experimental religion is enthusiasm. And

"11. That there is no mystery in the Scriptures.".

They closed their protest by saying: "We intend to have no controversy, but to remain as we are, the Tate's Creek Association of United Baptists." This action was taken by ten of the twenty-six churches composing the Association. They met in August as the regular Tate's Creek Association and resolved to drop correspondence with every association that tolerated the heresy of Campbellism."[4]

In August, 1830, the Elkhorn Association of Kentucky excluded the churches of Versailles and Providence from fellowship, and cut off with them three preachers — Jacob Creath, Sr., Jacob Creath,

[1] Life of Smith, 347.
[2] Life of Smith, 308-310.
[3] Life of Smith, 388.
[4] Life of Smith, 376.

Jr., and Joseph Hewitt. It also cut off the reforming party of North District, represented by John Smith, who was present in person as corresponding messenger.[1]

In 1830, the Bracken Association of Kentucky took action against the Reformers in refusing to recognize messengers from their churches. In the case of the Mayslick church they recognized the majority, in the case of the Bethel church they recognized the minority, and in the case of the North District Association, they recognized the minority — on the ground in each case that those rejected had embraced a system of so-called reformation and had departed from the original principles of the United Baptists. Their circular letter begins: "Dear Brethren.— In addressing you at this time, we lament to have to say, that a dark and gloomy cloud overspreads our horizon unequaled since the establishment of the Baptist society in Kentucky. Associations and churches are dividing and of course peace and harmony have departed.[2]

The Union Association and Campbell County Association were both disturbed by separations the same year, the latter, says Benedict, "experienced a similar reduction of their strength."[3]

The resolutions of the Beaver Association were heard from in Virginia. They became the model for action by the Appomatox Association. After a preamble from those resolutions, the following recommendations were passed:

"1. Resolved, That it be recommended to all the churches composing this Association, to discountenance the writings of Alexander Campbell.

"2. Resolved, That it be recommended to all the churches in this Association, not to countenance the new translation of the New Testament.

"3. Resolved, That it be recommended to all the churches in this Association, not to invite into their pulpits any minister who holds the sentiments expressed in the Beaver Anathema." This action was taken in 1830.[4]

More significant, however, than the action of Appomatox, was that of the Dover Association of Virginia, at a meeting December 30-31, 1830.[5] This was not a regular meeting of the Association,

[1] Life of Smith, 365; Christian Baptist, VI. 83.

[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 478.

[3] Benedict, 818, 819.

[4] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 261, 328.

[5] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 76.

but was called together by the enemies of the Reformers to deal specifically with them. On account of the standing and influence of this Association, and the eminence of the men composing it, the action is of the greatest significance. It marks the beginning of the end of the process of separation. It was decisive for all other associations. In this Association were Robert Semple and Andrew Broaddus, two of the most representative and honored men of the denomination. The action was started by Robert Semple in his own church at Bruington, by the reading of the following resolution: "Whereas, it has been named to this church that certain persons have been baptized within the bounds of this church, contrary to our usual regulations, and being also informed that similar occurrences have taken place in neighboring churches, and apprehensive some unpleasant confusion may arise from it tending to disturb the peace of the churches; Resolved, That brethren Josiah Ryland, Hugh Campbell, Robert Courtney, and Temple Walker, be appointed a committee to confer with each other and such committees of other churches as may be necessary, who at some future day may report to this church the result of their conference and recommend what measures may be taken for the peace and happiness of Zion."

The church to which Andrew Broaddus ministered was the next to take similar action. A conference was agreed upon, to which eight churches sent committees or delegates. They met at Upper King and Queen meeting-house, December 30, 1830. A committee of nine was appointed "to sit at night at the house of Col. R. M. Garnett, and form a report to be brought forward and considered to-morrow." The conference met the next day to hear the report. After a few general statements as to the mission of the church and the value of associations in preserving it from error and disorder, the grievance of the conference of churches is set forth in the report as follows: "The system of religion known by the name of Campbellism has spread of late among our churches to a distressing extent, and seems to call loudly for remedial measures. Accordingly eight churches deeply aggrieved by the principles and practices of this new party, have sent their respective delegates to this conference, to consult in fear of God, as to the most proper measures to be adopted in the present state of things. The errors of this system are various; some of them comparatively unimportant, while others appear to be of the most serious and dangerous tendency.

Passing by those of inferior magnitude, we will notice such only as strike at the vitals of Godliness and will endeavor to recommend suitable corrections. In principles the errors alluded to may be classed under four heads, viz., the denial of the influence of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of man — the substitution of reformation for repentance — the substitution of baptism for conversion, regeneration, or the new birth — and the Pelagian doctrine of the sufficiency of man's natural powers to effect his own salvation. In practice, this party go on to administer baptism in a way radically different from that which has been usual among Baptists, and from what we conceive to be the New Testament usage — making no inquiry into the experience or the moral standing of the subjects, and going from church to church with or without pastors — urging persons to be immersed, and immersing them — in a manner contrary to good order and propriety. The conference, therefore, deeply impressed with a sense of the evils herein noticed, and taking into serious consideration the unhappy state of things thence resulting, have come to the following resolutions:

"1. Resolved, That we consider the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration and salvation of the soul, as a fundamental doctrine of the Scriptures and universally maintained by Baptists (such as we hold in fellowship) in all countries.

"2. Resolved, That to maintain baptism to be conversion — regeneration — the new birth, and that in baptism sins are actually (not figuratively) washed away, is a radical error, founded in popery and ought not to be countenanced.

"3. Resolved, That we consider the doctrine of repentance (or repentance for sin) as held among us, and as set forth in the Scriptures, to be of vital importance; and that in its room to substitute reformation (as is generally understood) tends to subvert one of the main pillars of the Christian religion.

"4. Resolved, That to maintain the sufficiency of human nature to the purposes of salvation, with the mere written word, and without the gracious influence and aid of the Holy Spirit, is, in our view, a plain contradiction of the Word of God, a denial of the fundamental doctrine held among Baptists, and a vain attempt to introduce the Pelagian scheme, long since exploded.

"5. Resolved, That we recommend to our churches, that when any of their members shall maintain any or all of these radical errors, that in love and tenderness, they endeavor to convince them

of their errors; but in the event of failing in the object, that in the fear of God, and in the spirit of faithfulness, and after reasonable forbearance, they declare non-fellowship with such, and separate them from their communion as offenders against God and truth.

"6. Resolved, That in regard to practice, we advise that our churches take a decided stand against the disorderly and disorganizing measures pursued by some of this party, in going among churches and administering baptism upon their new plan — flying in the face of all church order, trampling down all former usages among Baptist churches, and disregarding the peace of the churches, and especially of the pastors. Such a course being subversive of all order and regular church government, ought to receive the most prompt and decided reprehension from the churches.

"7. Resolved, That persons thus baptized ought not to be received into any Baptist church of regular standing, but upon strict examination as to experience, moral standing, and the motives which induced them to such step. Conscious, however, that many pious and well-meaning persons may be misled by these preachers, we would advise that every degree of gentleness and affection be exercised towards them. Finally, brethren, we are well aware that in all such cases there will arise many difficulties. We would therefore recommend the exercise of much prudence, and all reasonable forbearance in any step that may be taken; and especially that you keep a steady eye upon the great head of the Church, who has promised his effectual aid in every season of need. And with this view, Resolved, That this conference recommend to the churches the observation of a day of solemn humiliation, with fasting and prayer, with reference to the state of religion and the distress which has given rise to this meeting. Accordingly, Tuesday, the 8th of March, was appointed for the purpose."

Robert Semple delivered an "interesting and instructive discourse, to a crowded and attentive congregation," at the opening of the conference, and closed with "an affectionate and impressive exhortation." Of course the report fell into the hands of Mr. Campbell, and was printed in full in *The Millennial Harbinger*.[1] He pleads "not guilty to every item of the bill of indictments." After a rather sharp review of the action of the Dover Association, he corrects what he declares to be misrepresentations of his teaching. "We have opposed the whole mystic system of interpreting the

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 81.

book, and the idea that God has given us an unintelligible and incredible testimony. We have taught that our power to believe is not in ourselves, but in the testimony or in him who gives testimony. That God has rendered the testimony credible, or has made us able to believe it, because confirmed by signs, by miracles, by all the gifts of the Holy Spirit. We contend that as the testimony is confirmed, there is no promise in the book, as there is no need, of supernatural and physical aid to help men to believe. That so soon as men believe sincerely, or in the heart, that Jesus is the Son of God, and the only way and name given to men by which they can be saved, and are immersed into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, they are pardoned, regenerated, saved, adopted, reconciled to God, and receive the Holy Spirit. This is the head and front of our offending. We neither make faith by itself, nor water by itself, nor the blood of Christ by itself, nor the name of the Lord by itself, nor grace by itself, regeneration, conversion, or salvation. We never separate repentance and reformation. We can not conceive of a reformation unto life without a change of mind and sorrow for the past. But we choose to use Bible terms in preference to the scholastic. Without a pure heart and a holy life, we teach that no man can enter into the everlasting kingdom. Baptism, without faith in the blood of Christ, we contend, avails nothing. But that to him that believes and is immersed, we assert that Jesus promised salvation. That immersion to a believer is the sign and medium of remission of sins, we must teach; or, in the words of the book, we must proclaim immersion for the remission of sins to every one that believes God's testimony." He closed his review of the report by proposing to discuss the questions at issue with Semple and Broaddus in the pages of *The Millennial Harbinger.*

The report came before Semple's own church at Bruington for adoption, March 5, 1831.[1] Broaddus was present to take part in the discussion, so also were six of the ministers who signed the report. A Dr. Duval led the opposition to the report. It was finally voted down. Thus in the very church where the movement started, its issues were rejected. A division in the church was averted for the time being. It need scarcely be added that Mr. Campbell regarded the foregoing statement of his teaching by the Dover Association as a gross misrepresentation, due partly to willful ignorance and partly to blind partisanship. There was some ground for the misun-

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 178.

derstanding of his position on account of many extreme statements made under the heat of controversy for rhetorical effect. On the other hand it is exceedingly difficult for one man to understand another sympathetically when they are opposed to each other. They tend to to fly apart, not to draw together. Argumentation is always centrifugal not centripetal. No two persons can arrive at a correct understanding of each other when they are determined to prove each other wrong. Two such eminent thinkers and honored leaders as Semple and Broaddus could not be charged with want of ability to understand. But there were first of all real differences of thought, and these tended to magnify and multiply the differences. What Campbell really believed and taught he sets forth with brevity and clearness in his reply.

It was this very element of misrepresentation in all reports of Campbell's views that finally helped him. It was this exaggeration in the report of the Dover Association that gave it such an easy defeat in Semple's own church and in his very presence. If two of the ablest leaders and fairest thinkers among the Baptists could thus misunderstand Campbell, what could be expected of the rank and file of the ministry; what of the average church member? We must make a very large allowance for misunderstanding if not unfairness in all unfriendly accounts of his teachings, not only by Baptist but all other opponents.

There being no amendment of affairs or harmonizing of differences between Baptists and Reformers during the next two years, in the fall of 1832 the Dover Association at its regular meeting took the following action: "We, therefore, the assembled ministers and delegates of the Dover Association, after much prayerful deliberation, do hereby affectionately recommend to the churches in our connection to separate from their communion all such persons as are promoting controversy and discord under the specious name of 'Reformers.' That the line of distinction may be clearly drawn, so that all who are concerned may understand it, we feel it our duty to declare that whereas, Peter Ainsley, John DuVol, Matthew W. Webber, Thomas M. Henley, John Richards, and Dudley Atkinson, ministers within the bounds of this Association, have voluntarily assumed the name of 'Reformers,' in its party application, by attending a meeting publicly advertised for that party, and by communing with and otherwise promoting the views of the members of that party, who have been separated from the fellowship and communion of Regular

Baptist churches, Resolved, That this Association can not consistently and conscientiously receive them, nor any other ministers maintaining their views, as members of their body; nor can they in the future act in concert with delegates from any church or churches that may encourage or countenance their ministrations." The Baptist church in Richmond had divided in March, 1832, sixty-eight members going off and forming a church which met for the first time March 4th.[1] This action of the Dover Association may be said to mark the culmination of separation in Virginia, for just before, the Reformers began to hold separate associations, and this was one of the grounds for the action.

During the year 1830, which was pre-eminently the year of separation of Baptists from Reformers, reports are numerous and dark of the state of affairs in Baptist churches. Surely it was a dark period when many times the half of a congregation or the majority of it, went over to the Reformers; when parts of associations, and the strongest parts, declared for "the ancient order of things." It meant, in many instances, not merely the weakening of Baptist churches, but the closing of church doors, the cessation of public services, the breaking up of old associations, and the estrangement of friends. Not the least was the reproach such divisions brought upon the Christian religion before an unsympathetic world. Baptist papers were full of warnings, reproaches, and lamentations over the inroads of the new teachings. The following lamentation is taken from a report of the state of things in Tennessee by Mr. McConnico:

"My beloved brethren:— Campbellism has carried away many whom I thought firm. These wandering stars and clouds without water ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, make proselytes much more the children of the devil than they were before. O Lord! hear the cries and see the tears of the Baptists; for Alexander hath done them much harm. The Lord reward him according to his works. Look at the Creaths of Kentucky. Look at Anderson, Craig, and Hopwood, of Tennessee. See them dividing churches and spreading discord, and constituting churches out of excommunicated members. Such shuffling — such lying — such slandering — such evil-speaking — such dissembling— such downright hypocrisy — and all under the false name of reformation." "They have made a division in Cool Spring church." "The

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1832, 572; Memoirs, II. 364.

Association pronounced the old party the church, and excluded Anderson, Craig, and all who had gone off with them." "These were a large minority — they say the majority." "At Lepres Fork church a small party have gone over to Campbellism." "At Big Harpeth church, where I have lived and served thirty-two years, ten or twelve members have left us." "At Nashville, P. S. Fall, native of England, and Campbell's best friend, has led off most of that church which was a member of Cumberland Association." "On Saturday before the first Lord's day in September, Willis Hopwood, as is expected, will be excluded and perhaps most of Liberty church will follow him." "Robertson's Fork church, Giles County, will divide, and probably a number will follow Hopwood." "Zion church, Bedford County, I fear, will suffer much from the same new ancient Gospel." "Other churches may have some partial sifting." "The calf too is set up in Alabama."[1] This piece, not all of which has been quoted, appeared in *The Columbian Star,* under date of July 22, 1830. It was copied in full by Mr. Campbell into *The Millennial Harbinger.* A. W. Clopton pursued through several numbers of the *Star* what he called a "Review of Campbellism," gathering from all quarters reports of what was taking place in Baptist churches. The text of his "Reviews" was: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The matter that went in was in illustration of this text. Making due allowance for the somber coloring purposely sought after in such pieces as the above, it is clear that a feeling of alarm and gloom pervaded the Baptist churches over the divisions and separations that were taking place.

It is manifest that the year 1830 terminated all hope or prospect of a satisfactory adjustment of differences between Baptists and Reformers, and all possibility of their living and working together harmoniously. During that year the Franklin, the North District, the Boone's Creek, the Tate's Creek, the Elkhorn, the Bracken, the Union, and the Campbell County Associations of Kentucky, the Appomatox and the Dover Associations of Virginia, excluded or anathematized the Reformers and made their fellowship longer with Baptist churches impossible. Their separate existence thus made necessary, the Reformers accepted the inevitable, no matter how serious a disappointment it was to them, or however averse they were to the formation of a new sect. It was difficult, however, to break up all association between Baptists and Reformers at once. In

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 542.

many localities the ties that bound the members of a church together had been made strong by long association, mutual interest, or perhaps blood relationship. The Reformers were loathe to give up the privileges of a larger fellowship and accept those of a smaller. Separated in one locality, they entered into fellowship in another. Before the yearly meetings of the Reformers had become general, there was very much intermingling in the general gatherings. As late as 1831 Thomas Campbell was received into many Baptist pulpits and heard by Semple and Broaddus during a trip to Virginia. In 1832 Alexander Campbell made a trip to the East. "In New York he was refused all the Baptist meeting-houses." The same was true in Philadelphia and other cities where he stopped.[1]

The year 1830 may be said to mark the beginning of the separate existence and co-operation of the "Disciples of Christ," or "The Christian Church." Both names had been in use without any uniformity. The term "Disciples" was more largely and preferably used by Campbell and his followers, while the term "Christian," was used by B. W. Stone and his adherents. Campbell conceived a prejudice against the use of the name "Christian" because he felt that it had been sectarianized by the followers of Stone. He feared that a false impression would be made by its application to those who wanted to be free from all entangling alliances of a sectarian or theological sort. The name as popularly applied to the "Stoneites" stood for a denial of the full and proper divinity of Christ. They were called "Arians," "Socinians," or any other name that denoted this heresy. Campbell wanted a name that every child of God could wear without carrying any sectarian distinction. The name "Disciples of Christ" had not been appropriated by any sect. This name better than any other at that time seemed to him fitted to designate all true followers of Christ. Since the union of the followers of Stone with the followers of Campbell in 1832, both terms, "Christians" and "Disciples," have been in use. Wherever the Stone influence has been dominant, in Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, the term "Christian" prevails as a designation.[2]

No sooner had the Reformers been cast out of Baptist fellowship than they began to appoint separate meetings and organize

[1] Memoirs, II. 362; II. 392.

[2] Christian Baptist, II. 105; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 118, 371; 1831, 19, 389, 557; Life of Smith, 444, 445.

separate associations or conventions. The Mahoning and Stillwater Associations of Ohio were the earliest distinct meetings of Reformers or Disciples. These were formed on the basis of the old Baptist Associations bearing the same name. They did not preserve their Baptist features, but in their place they held a "yearly meeting" for worship and instruction. The churches on the Western Reserve set the example for all such meetings in all parts of the country. The earliest separate meeting of Reformers in Kentucky was held in October, 1829, at Mount Zion, Clark County, within the boundaries of the North District Association.[1] It was a "three days' meeting," and was called for social worship and exhortation. In 1830 a notice was sent out in the papers that a "three days' meeting similar to the one held at Mount Zion, would be held at Clear Creek," by those friendly to the Reformation under the name of "Baptist Reformers." In May, 1830, a meeting of the "friends and advocates of the ancient Gospel and ancient order of things" "from several counties of Kentucky," was held at Mayslick, Ky., and attended by Alexander Campbell.[2] The North District Association had dissolved in its Baptist form in 1831, and resolved to meet for social worship at Sharpsburg in 1832.[3] The chief feature of these yearly meetings was the preaching by representative advocates of the new order of things. If the meeting continued over Sunday, the observance of the Lord's supper was invariably attended to. These meetings were held wherever the Reformers were numerous enough to justify such a meeting. A meeting of all their churches in the region of Nashville was held at that place in October, 1832.[4] Every element of authority over the local churches, every legislative or judicial element, was sedulously eliminated from these gatherings. So careful were they to avoid the abuses of associations, so fearful were they of their tyranny, that they were at first indifferent to any association of churches for purposes other than social worship. This extreme was perfectly natural. The danger was that valuable time and strength should be dissipated in these purely religious meetings without anything being accomplished to further the gospel in destitute places. Campbell saw this danger, and in the early

[1] Life of Smith, 310, 325.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 238.
[3] Life of Smith, 484-486.
[4] Millennial Harbinger, 1832, 572.

numbers of the Millennial Harbinger pleaded for some more effective sort of co-operation among the churches.[1]

Such is the process by which the Disciples of Christ became a separate people. All the problems that confront a people thus embarked upon a separate, distinct, denominational existence, came up for discussion in the pages of *The Millennial Harbinger*. The subjects treated and the spirit of their treatment change. It is evident that a new situation and new responsibilities have arisen.

[1] Hayden, 296, 461; Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 235.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEPARATION: CAUSES.

The causes of the separation lay, as a matter of course, in the differences, either real or imaginary, between the Baptists and Reformers. The Baptists saw danger to their cherished beliefs and their ecclesiastical order in the teachings of Alexander Campbell. He struck at many of the fundamental doctrines that underlay their denominational edifice. It had been rapidly and successfully built up on these doctrines, and they believed their strength was due to them. To take away the doctrines and usages of Baptist faith, would be to remove the cornerstones of the foundation and let the entire building fall. They could not conceive of the replacement of other stones just as sound and adequate. No religious body has ever been known to permit a deliberate replacement of old with new doctrines in the foundation of their faith and life. It would have been hard to convince a Baptist of the first quarter of the nineteenth century that any other system of doctrine than Calvinism would do, though the early Baptists of New England and the Separates of Virginia were at first Armenian. Their complete change of front from Armenianism to Calvinism is attributed to their conflict with the Methodists, who were essentially Armenian. Their antagonists in New England, the Congregationalists, were Calvinists. That drove them into the Armenian camp. Their new antagonists in the South and East, the Methodists, were Armenian. That drove them into the Calvinistic camp. The adoption of the Philadelphia Confession in 1742 established permanently the Calvinism of the Baptists.

The differences between Campbell and the Baptists existed from the very beginning of the union, but they were unobserved or condoned for the sake of obtaining such a rising genius as Campbell as an adherent and advocate. There is no doubt that Campbell added very much to the prestige and favor of the Baptists among the people during all the time of his relationship with them. He was the ablest, most brilliant and versatile man they had during that period. All his influence accrued to the Baptists. The converts he made joined their churches. The victories he won in

the debates with John Walker, W. L. Maccalla, and Robert Owen, were set down to the Baptists. A Baptist who had no sympathy with Campbell's ideas, wrote in 1830: "We take pleasure in owning him as the conqueror of Walker and Maccalla on baptism; and the Christian public must hail with gratulation, the complete discomfiture of the atheist Owen."[1]

I. The chief points of agreement.[2]

Mr. Campbell and the Baptists were agreed on the main doctrines of Christian faith, which they held in common with all Protestants: the authority of the Scriptures, justification by faith, the atonement, the divinity of Christ, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection, and the future retribution of the wicked. They were of one mind on many secondary doctrines and usages: the form of baptism, the proper subject of baptism, the elements of Christian worship, the observance of the Lord's day, the organization of the local congregation, and the ordination of the ministry. There were far more points of agreement than of difference.

II. The chief points of disagreement.

These were of two sorts, doctrinal and practical. Taking them up, as far as possible, in the order of their historical emergence, let us treat

1. Differences in doctrine and principle.

(1) The relation of the covenants.

Differences developed on this subject earlier than on any other. The controversy was precipitated in 1816 by the delivery of the Sermon on the Law.[3] Campbell taught that the Old Testament or Covenant had been abrogated by Christ when he instituted the New Covenant. The Old Covenant was a covenant of works, and was for Jews; the New Covenant is a covenant of faith founded on promises, and is for the Christian. Hence the laws and requirements of the Old Covenant are not binding upon Christians. The abrogation of the Old Covenant carried with it the law of feasts, fasts, sabbaths, new moons, circumcision, sacrifices, the decalogue, in a word, the entire legislation under the Old Covenant. He did not mean by this that the Old Testament, which contains the written record and memorials of the Old Covenant, was of no value to the Christian, or that it should not be read, or that it contained no

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 133; 1830, Extra 21.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 135.
[3] Millennial Harbinger, 1846, 493; Memoirs, I. 471.

divine elements. He simply denied the authority of it for the Christian. He believed its essential parts had been re-enacted in the New Covenant, and by so much and only thus, was it binding.[1]

On the contrary, the Baptists taught the equal authority of both Old and New Covenants. Robert Semple voiced Baptist belief in the following words: "Now against this sentiment I must beg leave to enter my most solemn protest. I aver that the Old and New Testaments are essentially the same as to obligation, and stand in the same relation to each other and to us, as different parts of the New Testament do to each other. Some parts of the Old Testament have been declared in the New Testament as abrogated; and many others, being obviously temporary, ceased to be obligatory, because every object has been accomplished for which they were originally given."[2]

The issue was fairly joined and the difference manifest. The Baptists believed the Old Testament binding as a whole; Campbell believed it abrogated as a whole. One of the recurring charges against Campbell was that he "threw away the Old Testament." It was embodied in the accusations of the Tate's Creek Association. There was no compromise possible on the subject. It is fair to observe that the Baptists as a whole no longer hold this view. With the entire world of scholarship they now hold more nearly what Campbell taught in 1812 and 1816, and ever after.[3]

(2) The design of baptism.

Mr. Campbell regarded the discovery of the design of baptism as one of the most important contributions to the proper understanding of the ancient order of things. Stated in the language of Scripture, baptism was "for the remission of sins." He taught that baptism was a condition of entrance into the kingdom of heaven, a prerequisite to the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit. He sought to apprehend the significance of it as set forth in the teaching and practice of the apostles, and to restore it to its rightful place in the church of to-day.

In his debate with Walker in 1820, he observed that baptism was connected with the remission of sins in the New Testament.[4] In the appendix to the debate he says: "Baptism is an ordinance

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1891, 9, 67, 193.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 9.
[3] Memoirs, II. 28; Christian Baptist, III. 206.
[4] Memoirs, II. 20, 36.

by which we formally profess Christianity." In his debate with Maccalla in 1823 he went farther and attempted to explain the connection by saying that baptism *formally* washes away our sins, while the blood of Christ *really* washes them away. Writing in January, 1828, he says: "In my debate with Mr. Maccalla in Kentucky, 1823, on this topic, I contended that it was a divine institution designed for putting the legitimate subject of it into actual possession of the remission of his sins — that to every believing subject it did formally, and in fact, convey to him the forgiveness of sins. It was with much hesitation I presented this view of the subject at that time, because of its perfect novelty. I was then assured of its truth, and, I think, presented sufficient evidence of its certainty."[1] He wrote in the same year: "The first three thousand persons that were immersed after the ascension of Christ into heaven, were immersed for the remission of their sins with the promise of the Holy Spirit. I am bold, therefore, to affirm, that every one of them who, in the belief of what the apostle spoke, was immersed, did, in the very instant in which he was put under the water, receive the forgiveness of his sins, and the gift of the Holy Spirit."[2]

He is conscious here that he is making an extreme statement of the matter. In all of his writing on the subject he has before him the possibility of being charged with the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. He seems in a strait in his endeavor to be true to New Testament teaching, and escape baptismal regeneration.[3] He does not always escape both the Scylla and Charybdis. While his language at times verges upon the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, yet he would be the first to repudiate the doctrine. He had a difficult task, to state the essentiality or necessity of baptism and avoid attributing to it a magical effect. In response to a critic he says: "I have carefully considered all that you have advanced and many other communications to the same effect; and instead of weakening my assurance that the act by which we put on Christ, the act by which we come to Christ, the act by which we confess Christ, the act by which we become disciples of Christ, the act by which we come into the kingdom of Christ, the act by which we are married to Christ, the act by which we receive the pardon of

[1] Christian Baptist, V. 121.
[2] Christian Baptist, V. 161.
[3] Christian Baptist, V. 212.

our past sins, the act by which we come into the actual enjoyment of the salvation of Christ in this present life — is the act of immersion into the name of Christ; which act presupposes faith in him."[1]

Campbell meant to affirm no more than the Scriptures affirm when they say: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"; "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he can not enter into the kingdom of God"; "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit"; "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body"; "As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ"; "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us"; "Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins." If he affirmed in his own interpretation of these declarations more or less than they teach, he did not intend it. He had no dogma to prove. His only purpose seems to have been to find out the teachings of the Scriptures. There was one constant insistence in all of his references to the matter, that baptism is connected in some sense with the remission of sins.

This is clear from a study of the entire history of the controversy, that the Reformers laid an emphasis upon baptism and gave it a significance not given it by any other people. Persons who made a confession of their faith in Christ were at once told to get ready for baptism at the earliest possible moment. That was the culminating act of submission to Jesus, the final step into the kingdom. Doubtless, in the minds of advocates less discriminating in their thought and speech than Campbell, baptism became a saving ordinance. Not so in Campbell's mind. We may attribute to him before 1830, the view enunciated in the debate with Rice in 1842: "I do not make baptism absolutely essential to salvation in any case."[2]

The Baptists, however, understood him to teach: "That there is no promise of salvation without baptism"; "That baptism procures the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit"; "That in baptism sins are actually washed away." It need not be surprising that Campbell's position was misstated in the foregoing charges. They were made under the heat of controversy, and with the express purpose of showing him in error. Taking this fact into account

[1] Christian Baptist, VII. 165; Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 82.

[2] Debate with N. T. Rice, 519.

along with two others, namely, that it is not easy to use the language of Scripture concerning baptism in its first literal import without conveying the thought, and that the teaching of Campbell was frequently gathered from newly made advocates, one has sufficient possibilities for misunderstanding. Campbell considered baptism always in connection with its antecedents, faith and repentance. The New Testament knows of no separation.

In the famous "Extra No. 1," printed in *The Millennial Harbinger* of 1830, he makes the most systematic and elaborate exposition of his views of the design of baptism. He there draws a distinction between a change of heart and a change of state. Faith and repentance designate the change of heart, baptism the change of state. The terms pardon, justification, sanctification, reconciliation, adoption, and salvation, as applied to Christians in the New Testament, represent a state, not a character. He says: "A change of heart, though it necessarily precedes, is in no case equivalent to, and never to be identified with a change of state."[1] He likens the change to the marriage relation. Two persons, a man and a woman, may meet and be perfectly indifferent if not hostile to each other. A change of views with respect to each other takes place. This precedes a change of heart, if they eventually fall in love. Their state is not changed until the marriage ceremony is performed. Love is expressive of a change of heart, marriage of a change of state. Love is not to be regarded as a change of state, though it precedes it. He goes still further and says that a change of state does not necessarily follow the change of heart. "So in religion a man may change his views of Jesus and his heart may also be changed towards him; but unless a change of state ensues he is still unpardoned, unjustified, unadopted, and lost to all Christian life and enjoyment." "Some act, then, constitutional, by stipulation proposed, sensible and manifest, must be performed by one or both the parties before such a change (of state) can be accomplished."

This is what is meant by "the obedience of faith." The gospel contains a command, which must be obeyed. There can be no obedience without a command. "That it is not faith, but an act resulting from faith which changes our state," he goes on to show. The act which changes the state is immersion. He calls it a "discipling institution" from the command, "Go ye therefore and make

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, Extra 10.

disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father," etc. He says further: "One reason why we should arrest the attention of the reader to the substitution of the terms convert and conversion, for immerse and immersion in the apostolic discourses and in the sacred writings, is not so much for the purpose of proving that the forgiveness of sins, or a change of state, is necessarily connected with that act of faith called 'Christian immersion,' as it is to fix the minds of biblical students upon a very important fact, viz., that immersion is the converting act; or, that no person is discipled to Christ until he is immersed." "Immersion and regeneration are two Bible names for the same act, contemplated in two different points of view." This proposition he deduced from the passage, Titus, 3:5: "God hath saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit." By an examination of his "Extra No. 2" (*Millennial Harbinger,* 1831), on baptism, it is clear that he did not mean the same thing by regeneration that his critics meant. He used it in what he thought was its New Testament sense. What is popularly called regeneration he thought was more correctly expressed in Scripture as, "The renewing of the Spirit" (*Christian Baptist,* II. 170). The whole controversy arose out of a change in the meaning of terms used. He distinguished between being born of water and being born of the Spirit. Regeneration is synonymous with the former, renewing of the Spirit with the latter. Regeneration is the preparatory cleansing process, the putting off of the old man, in readiness for the creation of the new man by the Spirit. Regeneration or baptism makes one fit for the kingdom or the school of Christ. "But the renewal of the Spirit is the entire purification of the heart, the decoration of the character, the fitting of the separated for an inheritance among the sanctified." The former, regeneration, concerns entrance into the present kingdom. It is the birth, not the growth. "'Tis education and not birth that makes the Christian; but yet unless a person is born he can not be educated; unless he enter the kingdom of Jesus he cannot enjoy the rights of a citizen." In thus defining regeneration he deprived it of its current meaning. Hence also his understanding of the words "convert" and "conversion," was different from the accepted meaning. Likening conversion to a race he said: "Conversion is just the entrance or starting point in the race." He used the term "kingdom of God" in a sense not common to the speech of the day. It meant to him simply the present,

earthly society of Christians. He distinguished this from the future, everlasting kingdom. They were, in his thinking, two different kingdoms. He was seriously at fault in changing the meaning and use of terms after the controversy had begun.

He maintained that it would have been impossible for the apostles to speak to their converts as pardoned, justified, sanctified, saved, had there not been "some act, such as immersion, agreed on all hands, to be the medium of remission and the act of conversion and regeneration." "They taught all the disciples to consider not only themselves as saved persons, but all whom they saw, or knew to be immersed into the Lord Jesus." He closed the "Extra on Remission" by submitting interpretations of the church fathers and the leading modern denominational commentators in favor of his view that "immersion is the regeneration and remission of sins spoken of in the New Testament." He says that he exhibited the doctrine in the Maccalla debate, "without feeling its great importance and without beginning to practice upon its tendencies for some time afterwards." He dwells upon its value for the religious life. "A change of state so great, so sensible, so complete, so sudden, operates more like the ancient cures than the cold, dark, and tedious mental regenerations of the philosophizing theologians. The propositions now proved and illustrated, must convince all, that there is some connection between immersion and the forgiveness of sins." "What that connection is may be disputed by some, but that such a connection exists, none can dispute who acknowledges the New Testament to contain a divine communication to man." "Nothing remains, but that it be considered, what it is in truth, the accompanying sign of an accompanying remission; the sign and the seal, or the means and the seal of remission then granted through water, connected with the blood of Jesus, by divine appointment, and through our faith in it."

One must confess a difficulty in arriving at a just construction of Campbell's doctrine of baptism. Taking one set of expressions or passages from his writings, the conclusion would be inevitable that he taught a doctrine of baptismal regeneration — that no one was safe or could be saved without it, no matter what his Christian life or experiences had been. But this conclusion is set aside by his idea of the difference between the Christian state and the Christian character, and the present and future kingdoms of God. From another set of passages one would conclude that he differed in no

essential respect from the Baptist doctrine, namely, that baptism is a sign or symbolic figure of an inner spiritual transformation. Such expressions as "sign," "seal," "medium," etc., are used with reference to it. But that does not account for the bitter opposition of Baptists to his teaching, and the conviction in Campbell's own mind that he differed from their teaching. The difference was really not so great as each tried to make out. There are indications that Campbell was not sure of his own bearings at every stage. He makes no concealment of the fact that he gradually came to his view of it, and so must have been less certain of his ground at one stage than at another. The progress in his thinking, or rather the variation in his expression of it, is more or less marked. Baptism is not the same to him at one time that it is at another; sometimes it means more, sometimes less. His difficulty lay in his attempt to rationalize the doctrine of the phrase, "for the remission of sins" — to interpret in other language that which the Scriptures do not interpret.

The following conclusions are offered as a fair statement of his doctrine of baptism:

1. The remission of sins (in the New Testament teaching) synchronizes with the act of baptism.

2. Baptism is an act of faith in Jesus Christ, and of repentance toward God, expressed in an immersion in water. In other words, faith and repentance are so closely identified with the act of baptism, that baptism becomes a synonym for regeneration. For this reason, that the act of baptism received its meaning from the spiritual exercise of faith and repentance going before it, he strenuously opposed any delay in the administration of the act after the confession of one's faith publicly.

3. Its design is, therefore, to serve as the visible meeting place of God and the penitent soul, in which the sinner witnesses his faith in and acceptance of Christ, and God grants the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit. He thought of God as really acting on behalf of the sinner at that time. Baptism is a visible token of a covenant relation, in which God agrees to remit the sins of him who comes in the spirit of penitence.[1]

4. Its religious value is its chief value to men. This value lies in its authoritative declaration to the sinner that he is forgiven, is free from condemnation, and is an heir of eternal life. It declares

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, Extra 13, 45.

to the world that such a one is now a member of the company of the children of God. It is the final step into the kingdom of God. He says: "At what instant of time do we enter this kingdom, or come under the reign of God, and by what means? I say the moment we vow allegiance to the King in the constituted way — the moment we are naturalized — the moment we are born of water and of the Spirit — the moment we put on Christ — the instant we are converted and not before."[1]

Taking into account both his affirmations and denials on the subject, we must conclude as follows:

(1) He did not teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; that is, that there is any efficacy in the water or the act alone. Baptism must always be preceded by faith and repentance.

(2) He did not teach that baptism was absolutely necessary to salvation. It is not essential or efficacious in the same sense as faith or repentance.

(3) Its significance and value is chiefly for man. Man needs it, not God. It declared or mediated to man the act of divine forgiveness.

(4) He did not teach that the act of baptism is meritorious morally or spiritually. It is instrumental, mediatorial. The believer looks beyond it. It is symbolic. It is not an end in itself. To stop with it, is to defeat its purpose.

(5) It is not an act of the body, but of the spirit, in obedience. He says (*Millennial Harbinger*, 1831, Extra 19): "There are no acts of worship, or of religion ordained by Jesus Christ, that are at all to be regarded as outward or external bodily acts." "But the spirit of man can not act at all without the body; it can not think, if the brain be not exercised; it can not speak, unless the tongue be moved; it can not feel, but by the nerves; it can not move, but by the organs of the body. How unreasonable, then, to separate, or to regard human action in reference to the particular organ which operates. Immersion is as spiritual an act, when proceeding from faith in God's promises, as any act in which a person is either active or passive. Faith is as much a bodily act as immersion. No man without the exercise of his senses can believe anything. 'Faith comes by hearing,' says a master in Israel."

(6) Baptism is for the remission of sins in the sense that in baptism, or at the time of baptism, the subject of it appropriates

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 136.

the fact, and from that time onward, acts upon the knowledge and assurance of the forgiveness of sins.[1]

(7) Baptism changes the state of the believer. It does not change the moral or spiritual character of the believer, only as the consciousness of being in a new state or relationship to God and men, operates to confirm his purpose in it. State reacts upon character; the marriage state upon devotion to marital duties. Baptism introduces one into the kingdom of God, a state or society. It creates the consciousness of being a member of a new order of things.[2]

The writer appreciates the difficulty of the task of making a consistent and harmonious statement of the doctrine from such diverse materials. It was Campbell's conviction that baptism had lost the place and significance it held in apostolic times. The form of it had been changed from immersion to affusion. This entailed the loss of a beautiful and impressive symbol. The proper subject for it was no longer confined to the penitent believer. Thus it lost its purpose and import. If the churches were generally agreed to or oblivious of these losses, that was nothing against his duty or determination to restore baptism to its apostolic place. Neither was he deterred from his purpose by the consideration that all the value of it had been enjoyed without it, by Quakers and others. His response would be that the New Testament made no provision for a perversion of the appointments of the Gospel, much less anticipated the nature of them. That would be to invite them. Christ and his apostles provided for a perpetual normal order. What readjustments might be made necessary, they did not provide for. In any event, the purpose of God to save men would not be defeated.

His methods of interpretation were those of the biblical theologian. In many ways he anticipated the modern science of "Biblical Theology." He says: "The first and all-important inquiry with me, in reading the oracles of God, has long been, is now, and, I presume, while I live, will be, what were the exact ideas that the writers of the New Testament associated with the terms which they used." His limitations and interested purposes very frequently prevented a consistent application of his principles.[3]

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 498; Christian Baptist, VI. 157, 158.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, Extra 8, 9; 1830, 136.
[3] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, Extra 25.

We need but place alongside of this view of baptism, that of the Baptists, to understand the opposition it would immediately awaken. "Baptism is a sign, or declaration of forgiveness actually received and enjoyed by faith in Christ"; "a sign of what has already taken place" (Jeter, 249). The Reformers baptized a believer to make (completely make) him a Christian; the Baptists, because he is a Christian. To the Reformers it was a rite of initiation into the church; to the Baptists, it was a rite of recognition of membership in the spiritual, invisible church of Christ. The Reformers taught that baptism formally washes away sins; the Baptists, that it figuratively washes away sins.[1] The Reformers made no distinction in practice between the visible and invisible church, as the Baptists did. They identified the kingdom of God with the local congregation; the conditions of entrance into the former were made the conditions of entrance into the latter.

(3) The operation of the Holy Spirit in conversion and regeneration.[2]

The doctrine of the Baptists of that day, and indeed of all Calvinistic bodies, was, that the soul of the unbeliever is "dead in trespasses and in sins"; that he is utterly powerless to believe or help himself out of his condition; that the Holy Spirit comes in response to prayer and communicates spiritual life, thus regenerating the soul, and enabling him to turn to God in repentance and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.

In opposition to this, Campbell taught, that though the sinner is dead in trespasses and in sins, he has it in his power to believe and help himself; that he need but act upon the means divinely put at his service in the Scriptures to become a new creature; that the Word of God is such a means for the creation of faith and the regeneration of the soul; that the Holy Spirit operates through the word, not by direct impact upon the soul of the unbeliever; that the Spirit is not given to the sinner but only to those who have believed, repented and been baptized.

(a) Concerning the origin of faith, he taught that it was the result of testimony. In exercising faith in the religious sense, men are but using a faculty or power of the mind which they exercise in

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 79.

[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 287; Christian Baptist, V. 145, 193, 217; II. 53; Life of Smith, 146, 161, 216, 287, 305, 417, 377, 395.

other things. "The fact believed always operates according to its own nature." "Evidence alone produces faith, or testimony is all that is necessary to faith." "To exhort men to believe, or to try to scare them into faith, by loud vociferations, or to cry them into faith by effusions of natural or mechanical tears, without submitting evidence, is as absurd as to try to build a house or plant a tree in a cloud." "Faith abstracted from facts, produces no substantial, no real effect." "A man might as reasonably expect to support animal life by the simple act of chewing as to be saved by the mere act of believing. It is not a man's eating that keeps him alive, but what he does eat; so it is not a man's believing that saves his soul, but what he does believe." "No person can help believing, when the evidence of truth arrests his attention, and without evidence it is as impossible to believe as to bring something out of nothing." "The term faith is used in the Bible in the commonly received sense of mankind, and the faith which we have in the testimony of God differs from that we have in the testimony of men in this one respect only, that as men may be deceived and may deceive others, so the confidence we repose in their testimony in some instances may be limited; but as God cannot be deceived himself neither can He deceive others, so the confidence we have in His testimony is superior to that we repose in the testimony of men; and as the word comes to us in demonstration of the Holy Spirit, or attested unto us by the supernatural gifts which accompanied the testimony of the original witnesses, so it affords the highest possible evidence, and therefore produces the greatest confidence."[1]

Hence in his view faith preceded regeneration or was rather a means to it and was included in the process. He says: "The popular belief of a regeneration previous to faith, or a knowledge of the Gospel, is replete with mischief." "A devout preacher told me, not long since, that he was regenerated about three years before he believed in Christ. He considered himself as born again by a physical energy of the Holy Spirit, as a dead man would be raised to life by the mighty powers of the Eternal Spirit. Upon his own hypothesis, he was three years a godly unbeliever; he was pleasing and acceptable to God 'without faith' and if he had died

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 277; II. 14; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 355; Christian Baptist, I. 216.

during the three years, he would have been saved, though he believed not the gospel."[1] Such a thing was inconceivable if not ridiculous to Campbell. "The purification of our hearts, the refinement of our feelings, the elevation of our character, the reformation of our lives, are the inseparable fruits of the belief of the one fact (Jesus is Christ) upon the evidence contained in the faithful record."

(b) Concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, he taught that the Spirit revealed the word of truth and then attested it by signs and wonders. "The truth to be believed could never have been known but by the revelation of the Spirit; that though it had been pronounced in the most excellent language, yet it could not have been believed with certainty but by the miracles which were offered in attestation of it."[2] The work the Spirit does in revealing accounts for its being called the "Spirit of Wisdom"; that which it does in attesting, accounts for its being called the "Spirit of Power." Both of these exercises of the Spirit were confined to the apostolic age in the establishment of Christianity. Hence revelations and miracles have ceased. But the work the Spirit does in the sanctification of souls, on account of which it is called the "Spirit of Holiness or Goodness," continues perpetually in the church. In the series of essays in the Christian Baptist on "The Holy Spirit," he attributes the provision of the means of salvation to the Spirit, and believes that its miraculous work ceased with that. This preparatory work of the Spirit was all-important. So far both Baptists and Reformers were agreed. They parted company on the doctrine of the direct, irresistible, and physical influence of the Spirit upon the soul of the sinner. They joined company again on the doctrine of the Spirit's work in the Christian.[3]

The doctrine that a man is totally depraved and can not turn to a life of righteousness until God is pleased to send his Spirit to quicken him, seemed to Campbell not only untrue but immoral in its influence. It dishonored the word of that Spirit in the Scriptures, and discouraged the sinner. He taught that the word of truth in Scripture is the regenerating power of the Spirit. He pointed to abundant illustration of it in the writings and preaching of the

[1] Christian Baptist, I. 186, 244.
[2] Christian Baptist, II. 16.
[3] Christian Baptist, I. 184.

apostles. He observed that they preached the word, or the Gospel, or Christ, to the people, in contrast with the preachers he heard, who preached the Holy Spirit, and called upon him to come down and convert the unbelieving. Such a thing seemed so blind when the Spirit had sent the word, confirmed by signs and wonders, the records of which were to be found in every Bible. He says: "The present salvation is not a change of body, nor of perception, memory, judgment, imagination, reason; not of the intellectual and animal; but of the moral nature of man." "The means (of man's moral reformation) must be moral unless we can think that physical causes can produce moral effects."[1] God uses means in the accomplishment of His purposes in the world. In communicating moral influence to men, God uses the same means that men do in communicating moral influence to their kind. He addresses the understanding, the will, and the affections through ideas embodied in words. "No other power than moral power can operate on minds; and this power must always be clothed in words, addressed to the eye or ear." "And when we think of the power of the Spirit of God exerted upon minds or human spirits, it is impossible for us to imagine that that power can consist in anything else but words or arguments." "As the spirit of man puts forth all its moral power in words which it fills with its ideas, so the Spirit of God puts forth all its converting and sanctifying power in the words which it fills with its ideas." "We plead that all the converting power of the Holy Spirit is exhibited in the Divine Record." The words must be understood, however, to have their moral influence.[2]

This teaching was the cause of much opposition from the Baptists, and the basis of many charges. He was accused of "denying the Holy Spirit." Sometimes his doctrine was stated correctly in charges and resolutions, as in the Beaver resolutions: "That there is no direct operation of the Holy Spirit on the mind prior to baptism";[3] or in the charges of the Mayslick church: "Denying the direct influence of the Spirit till after baptism."[4] At other times he was misrepresented as in the Dover resolutions: "The denial of the influence of the Holy Spirit in the salvation of men."[5] Re-

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 287; Memoirs, II. 354.
[2] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 396.
[3] Life of Smith, 330.
[4] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 571.
[5] Millennial Harbinger, 1831, 76, 535.

plying to a communication, he said: "Did you ever read anything I have written, denying the operation or agency of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of sinners? No, you did not. Neither have I written anything to that effect." "But of the mystic influences, independent of the Lord, and the physical operations upon the hearts of men, *without the word,* so much talked of and prayed for, I learn nothing in the sacred writings."[1]

(4) The use of confessions of faith.[2]

The Baptists generally believed in the utility, if not the necessity of confessions of faith to preserve soundness and uniformity of doctrine. They were a good thing in themselves and a useful supplement to the Scriptures. Campbell was squarely opposed to any use of creeds and confessions of faith. They were an evil in themselves as bonds of fellowship or tests of orthodoxy, whether they contained true or false doctrine. He would not have indorsed the use of a confession of faith of his own making as a test of Christian fellowship. To say that creeds and confessions of faith are necessary to make the truth of Scripture more plain and intelligible, he declared, was to deny both the benevolence and wisdom of God. The very words of Scripture are the best for the expression of the truths of Scripture. To maintain that creeds are essential to the unity of the church, is to treat the Scriptures as imperfect or inadequate. There was unity in the apostolic churches without creeds. "Every human creed is based upon the inadequacy of the Holy Scriptures."

It was not easy for the Baptists to come to this point of view. They had usually embodied their doctrines in confessions of faith. A formula of faith lay at the basis of the union between Separates and Regulars. It looked like a dissolution of faith to abandon their confessions. There was nothing left to keep out the Unitarian, Antinomian, and Armenian. The church must have some statement of doctrinal belief on the fundamental points, to bar out heretics. The rejection of creeds and confessions of faith by the Reformers was the occasion of many complaints against them, embodied in formal charges by churches and associations. This was the one question frequently present in local church divisions. Generally,

[1] Christian Baptist, VII. 282.

[2] Christian Baptist, II. 229, 241, 265, 175, 198; IV. 201; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 299, 339.

however, it was complicated with other questions of doctrine or principle.

2. Differences in practice.

(1) Method of receiving persons into the church.

The method of the Regular Baptist churches, consecrated by long usage, was to require of the candidate the relation of an experience of his conversion, before the officers of the church, or before the entire assembled congregation. If the experience gave evidence of a genuine conversion, the person was accepted for church membership and baptism by a vote of the examiners. The Reformers, on the other hand, required merely a public confession from the candidate, that he believed that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God. This was followed immediately, or very soon, by baptism and the hand of fellowship. This they believed to be the apostolic method of procedure. Their opposition to the relation of an experience was based upon the principle that nothing should be taught or required as a condition of membership in the church, "for which there can not be expressly produced, a 'Thus saith the Lord' either in express terms or by approved precedent." The Baptist practice seemed to them lacking in both. Then, too, they thought it conduced to insincerity and by no means preserved the church from designing persons, who could fabricate an experience that would deceive the very elect.

The Reformers did not object to an experience, or its relation, in the proper place, but they did object to the use made of it. They greatly suspected the ordinary experience of conversion, as growing out of, and framed to harmonize with, the doctrine of the direct, mystical, and physical influence of the Holy Spirit. They did not believe in this sort of influence or operation. But to determine the genuineness of such an influence in every case, the examination was made by the Baptists into the personal experience of the candidate. It was the indisputable mark of a genuine conversion. The candidate was led to look for signs of a providential nature in his own daily life. The most commonplace incidents or accidents were interpreted as evidences of the divine influence. The feelings, however, were the surest and commonest source of evidence. A kind of model of genuine Christian experience had grown up, to which all were expected to conform.

In opposition to this, Campbell sought the evidences of conver-

sion in the person's obedience to the will of the Lord, and in a life conformed to His.[1] He said, after relating his experience to John Smith: "I have never doubted or denied the reality of these various workings of the mind as modified by the different temperaments of those who are exercised by them. But I do object to the use that is made of them by the clergy. We should not make them tests of one another's Christianity; nor is there anything in the Book that requires a man to tell all the workings of his conscience, as a prerequisite to baptism." "As the apostolic writings afford no example, and sound reason furnishes no argument to require candidates for immersion to relate a Christian experience before they have obeyed the Gospel, we protest against the custom. To require candidates for marriage to relate conjugal experiences before they have entered upon that relation, is not more egregious than to ask candidates for immersion to narrate a Christian experience."[2]

This was the most serious departure from Baptist usage by the Reformers. There was no mistaking, hence no misrepresenting, the practice of the Reformers in this matter. It is correctly represented in the Beaver and the Dover resolutions. The Baptists could not be reconciled to an abandonment of the examination into the experience of the candidate for church membership. This would have been, in their minds, to open wide the doors and throw down the very walls of the church to unregenerate persons — a thing that was intolerable to a Baptist. Whether this jealous maintenance of such a custom results in a purer church membership for the Baptists than for other bodies that resort to no such safeguard, is not easy to determine. They intended only the good of the church thereby, and believed themselves in accord with the spirit of the Scriptures if not the very letter.

(2) The administration of baptism.

Another practice of the Reformers by which the Baptists were deeply grieved, was the administration of baptism by an unordained person. The Baptists of the Stillwater Association of Ohio brought charges against Cyrus McNeeley for baptizing a person without being ordained.[3] One of the charges of the Beaver Association was: "That all baptized persons have the right to administer the ordi-

[1] Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 423, 498.

[2] Life of Smith, 168; Millennial Harbinger, 1830, 260; 1831, 82, 83; Christian Baptist, IV. 200, 275.

[3] Memoirs, II. 329.

nance of baptism." It was doubtless this irregularity of the Reformers that lay at the basis of the charge of "disorderly and disorganizing measures pursued by some of the preachers of this party," in the Dover resolutions. They also complained of the haste with which the ordinance was administered, and the substitution of the words, "I immerse thee into the name," for the words, "I baptize thee in the name," etc.

(3) The observance of the Lord's supper.

The Baptist custom was to observe the supper once a month or once in three months. It was a prevailing custom of the Reformers to observe the supper every first day of the week. It was a matter of conscience with them, believing that they found sufficient precedent for it in the practice of the apostolic churches. The weekly observance of it was scarcely less binding upon them than immersion as a form of baptism. The following propositions summarize the teaching of Campbell: "1. That there is a Divinely instituted order of Christian worship in Christian assemblies. 2. That this order of worship is uniformly the same. 3. That the nature and design of the breaking of bread are such as to make it an essential part of Christian worship in Christian assemblies. 4. That the first church set in order in Jerusalem continued as steadfastly in breaking of bread as in any other act of social worship or edification. 5. That the disciples statedly met on the first day of the week, primarily and emphatically, for this purpose. 6. That the Apostle declared it was the design, or the primary object of the church to assemble in one place for this purpose, and so commanded it to the churches he had set in order. 7. That there is no law, rule, reason, or authority for the present manner of observing this institute quarterly, semi-annually, or at any other time than weekly." "Upon the whole, it may be said that we have express precedent and an express command to assemble in one place on the first day of the week to break bread."[1]

The Reformers generally favored a freer communion than the Baptists practiced or permitted.

(4) The call to the ministry.[2]

The prevailing belief of the Baptists of the time was that there was a special call to the ministry, and that a man was not warranted in going out to preach until he had received unmistakable evidence

[1] Christian Baptist, III. 11, 30, 56; V. 150.

[2] Christian Baptist, I. 61, 91, 109, 133, 157.

that God had called him to the ministry. This call was indicated by some sign without or assurance within of a physical or spiritual nature. This call was identical in import and character with that which came to the apostles.

Campbell rejected this notion and the assumptions underlying it, namely, that it was necessary to qualify one for service and to give one's message and ministry a certain degree of authority. The modern call can not be the same as that to the apostles, for they were especially endowed with utterance and miraculous powers. Their message came with the authority of a divine revelation. He says: "When a brother in distress appears in the presence of a brother rich in this world, the brother of high degree is called by the Word of God and the providence of God; or, the circumstances of the case call upon him to put his hand into his pocket and to communicate to his distress. Just in the same sense a brother who is well instructed into the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, who has attained to the full assurance of understanding what Paul and Peter and James and John, and the other writers of the New Testament have taught, concerning the way of life and salvation; when he finds persons ignorant or unbelieving either in public or private, is called by the Word of God, and the circumstances of the case, to teach and preach Christ or to show the things that the ambassadors have taught and authenticated; these things he may urge on their authority, who confirmed their testimony with signs and wonders."[1] Such is the call in which Campbell believed. One of the charges of the Tate's Creek Association against the Reformers was, that they taught "that there is no special call to the ministry."

There were many other minor differences of a local sort that divided Baptists and Reformers in faith and practice. The foregoing, however, were the principal differences that issued in the separation. Since the separation, the two bodies have undergone modifications that have brought them nearer together. There are many enlightened individuals in both bodies at the present time who occupy practically the same position on these questions which were in serious dispute seventy-five years ago. There are extremists in both bodies who are just as far apart as ever.

[1] Christian Baptist, I. 69; Life of Smith, 377, 380.

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